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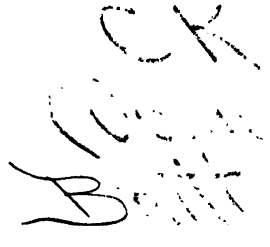

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THE

AUTHORSHIP

OF

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS

ELUCIDATED:

INCLUDING A

Biographical Memoir

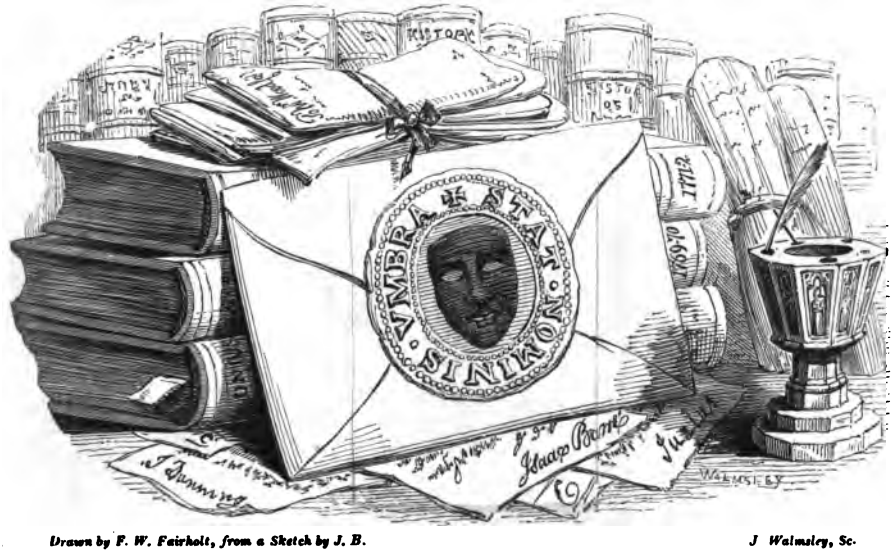
OF

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ISAAC BARRÉ, M.P.

BY JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF

THE "CATHEDRAL, AND THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES," "A DICTIONARY OF THE ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE MIDDLE AGES," &c.



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THE BRITISH PRESS.

INVESTED with vast and varied powers, you have attained an influence, a dominion, surpassing that of any or all the autocrats of the world. Beyond and superior to legislative laws and equity decisions, you often influence and even control the makers of the one, and the authors of the other. Hence it is your bounden duty to be watchful and circumspect; to be honest and just; and, in admonishing the weak and the wicked, to inculcate the most stringent maxims of goodness and of wisdom. If the fertilizing waters of instruction flow from pure sources, and are skilfully distributed over the vast field of human intellect, the ever-teeming crops of knowledge must be abundant and substantially beneficial.

To what, or to whom, can the present glorious and unparalleled state of Great Britain be ascribed but to your watchful guardianship—to your intrepidity—to your unflinching courage and liberty of speech? Be resolute in justifying, maintaining, and wisely employing these characteristics, and you may ultimately, it is hoped speedily,

counteract and subdue not only all the direct, but also the insidious enemies of that civil liberty which is the birth-right and boast of the "true born Englishman."

Junius inscribed his Letters to "THE ENGLISH NATION." I venture to address this humble Essay to the Mirror which reflects and fixes the moral and mental images of that nation; as the photogenic process imprints and preserves the archetypes of all objects which range within the focus of its lens.

As a veteran Author, ardently devoted to Literature for more than half a century, I cordially and sincerely reiterate the axiom of Junius, that "the liberty of the Press is the Palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman!"

J. BRITTON.

March 1, 1848.

PREFACE.

"OH, WHAT A TANGLED WEB WE WEAVE,
WHEN FIRST WE PRACTISE TO DECEIVE."

Sir Walter Scott.

"I AM RESOLVED TO SEARCH FOR THEE:
THE SEARCH ITSELF REWARDS THE PAIN."

Cowley.

"EVIDENCE ON A SUBJECT LIKE THIS, LONG PASSED AND PURPOSELY CLOUDED OVER FOR CONCEALMENT, MUST BE MADE UP OF MINUTE CIRCUMSTANCES, CLOSELY AND ACCURATELY EXAMINED, IF ANY LIGHT IS TO BE OBTAINED, WHEN CLAIMS ARE TO BE ADVANCED OR DISPROVED."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1842.

AMOUNT OF TIME AND LABOUR DEVOTED TO THIS ESSAY—FIRST CLUE TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF JUNIUS'S LETTERS—ALLUDED TO BY THE PRESENT WRITER ON FORMER OCCASIONS—THE INQUIRY PURSUED ASSIDUOUSLY FOR THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS—THE AUTHOR, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BARRÉ; HIS ASSOCIATES, LORD SHELBURNE, AND JOHN DUNNING—WILLIAM GREATRAKES, THE PRESUMED AMANUENSIS—HIS STORY A ROMANCE—CHARACTER OF THE LETTERS—MYSTERY AND DANGER ATTENDING THEIR PUBLICATION—MANNERS AND HABITS OF MINISTERS—FREEDOM OF THE PRESENT AGE—THE LETTERS DESCRIBED AND CRITICISED BY THE AUTHOR, BY MITFORD, BY COLERIDGE, AND OTHERS—ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WHEN I resolved to publish a new and distinct Essay, to elucidate the authorship of Junius's Letters, little did I anticipate the extent of labour and time which would be requisite to accomplish the task I had undertaken. Since I was first apprised of the source

whence they were believed by my informant to derive their origin, more than half a century has elapsed; and though I have since read many treatises, and heard various opinions respecting their authorship, I cannot find, in any of the parties hitherto named, the qualifications and traits of character peculiar to Junius: those characteristics are, however, combined in a pre-eminent degree in three eminent politicians who, for many successive years, spent their summer months at Bowood, in Wiltshire. At different times and in different publications, I have incidentally alluded to the place and parties; but I have forborne to name the author or to specify particulars, until I had an opportunity of investigating the case in all its bearings and relations. For the last twelve months I have sought by extensive reading, inquiry, and correspondence, to obtain authentic, satisfactory evidence; and the result is, that the materials which I have accumulated, whilst they serve to elucidate the political and private character and talents of the anonymous AUTHOR of the LETTERS,—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BARRÉ—also point out and implicate his intimate associates LORD SHELBURNE and MR. DUNNING. There are likewise some extraordinary revelations respecting WILLIAM GREATRAKES, whose career in life, and the circumstances attending his death, with the disposal of his property, abound in mystery, and are pregnant with suspicion. The story of this gentleman is a romance of real life, and, like that of the concealed Author, is enveloped in a cloak of ambiguity and darkness; yet it is confidently believed that he was the Amanuensis to Colonel Barré, and also his confidential agent and messenger. To identify these persons and explain their connection with the public correspondence referred to—to bring out facts of dates and deeds from the dark and intricate recesses in which they were studiously and cunningly concealed—to reconcile and account for contradictions and inconsistencies, have occasioned more

anxiety, toil, and scrupulous analysis, than can possibly be imagined by any person who has never attempted a similar task. The issue and effects, however, are now submitted to that public tribunal, which invariably awards a proper and just decision, and which I feel assured will ultimately pronounce an impartial verdict, whether favourable or adverse to the author's hopes and opinions.

So strong was the sensation created by these alternately calumniated and extolled epistles, that they may be regarded as an integral part of the history of our country; and, candidly and honestly viewed, they will be found to constitute an important feature, not only in the political, but in the literary, the moral, and the philosophical annals of the nation. It is my conviction that had they never appeared—had not their publication been met by state prosecutions—had not their elements and principles produced an extensive influence on the public mind—the existing generation would have been deprived of many political privileges and advantages which they now actually possess. The abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation, and Reform of Parliament, might, I am persuaded, have been unknown in the present peaceful age, if the "Letters of Junius" had not led the way to that free and unfettered expression of public opinion which has produced such important results.

It will not be difficult to prove that the "Letters of Junius" have tended, in a most essential manner, to produce the present state of free and fearless discussion which characterises the press of this country. The tone and sentiment which pervade those eloquent epistles have been revived in many modern periodicals.

When I commenced my present arduous and delicate task, I expected to bring my observations and deductions within the compass of a few pages, so as to form part of the AUTO-BIOGRAPHY

I am now engaged in; but the extent and variety of the materials which I have collected, I found would require more space for their full development, than could, with propriety, be devoted to them in that work.

In the vast and varied field of literature there is not a scene or event more completely involved in obscurity—more replete with interest in its origin, progress, and results—than the authorship of Junius's Letters. The "Wandering Jew," the "Iron Mask," "The Great Unknown" of the North, were all men and objects enveloped in mysterious darkness—all provoked and created intense interest and inquiry—but neither of these, nor any other person, or band of public persons, ever gave occasion for such ardent speculation, or provoked such a host of royal, noble, and plebeian enemies and critics as the writer of the anonymous epistles now referred to. Spies, traps, and stratagems of every kind were employed for some years to detect the author—bribes, threats, provocations of all sorts, were exercised to bring him into open daylight. He was pronounced to be "a liar and a coward;"* "a lurking assassin;"† "a lying, infamous, cowardly scoundrel,"‡ and was, indeed, anathematised in every form of vituperative language which rage and revenge could suggest. Instead of provoking angry and hostile passions in the person thus assailed, the language not only excited in him a cool and self-relying complacency, but produced replications so stringently severe and galling to the writers, that the assailants shrunk from further literary combat. Knowing, as he well did, the temper and character of some of his foes, it is but reasonable to conclude that Junius became more and more cautious to conceal his person,

* Woodfall's edition of "Junius's Letters," vol. ii., 368.

† Ibid., ii., 278.

‡ Ibid., iii., 412.

though at the same time he charged his pen with increased acrimony and satire. It should be borne in mind that the general tenour and gist of his Letters is in reprobation of public men and public measures, in the cause of political honour and national good; and it must also be remembered that the ministry, with its satellites and enslaved dependents, were corrupt and arbitrary, mercenary and crafty—that they were so devoid of shame as even to endeavour to justify their vices and delinquencies by pleading bygone customs and the practices of their predecessors and contemporaries. The sale of public places and offices was of frequent and unblushing occurrence—moral and political prostitution was practised in open daylight, and personal and mental freedom of action and thought were frequently assailed by aristocratic and ministerial power. Drunkenness and swearing were fashionable, and deemed venial. At such a time, and under such circumstances, the honest Satirist is to be hailed and applauded as a public benefactor and a friend to his species—a monitor and instructor—the sincere friend of virtue—the foe to vice.

We may now comment on the political writings and opinions of Junius, of Burke, of Wilkes, of Paine; as well as on the Parliamentary harangues of Chatham, North, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and other once-famed orators and statesmen, without fear of offending the good feelings of honest and independent readers. I remember when men were hooted at and pelted in the public streets, for wearing a light coloured hat, and for attending certain meetings presumed to be either republican or anti-jacobin; but, thanks to the influence of the press and the lecturer, the diffusers of knowledge, and the improvers of human intellect, those days are passed, and may justly be ranked with the "dark ages."

Many writings have appeared in the "Times," and the "Morn-

ing Chronicle," by Peter Pindar, Hone, Southey, Byron, Godwin, Thelwall, and others, as disloyal, treasonable, satirical, and personal, as any of the "Letters of Junius;" but the wisdom of Ministers and Government prosecutors did not deem them proper subjects for state trials, and consequent notoriety: hence libel has been neutralised by neglect and public indifference.

That the "Letters of Junius" evince much knowledge of the world —extensive reading—acute intellect—splenetic temper—ardent feelings—strong political bias—warm passions both in friendships and enmities, with consummate art and consequent artifice—is the belief of all persons who have read the whole series, or studied them in detail. The unity and harmony of style and language which pervade these writings show them to be the compositions of one mind: although it is most likely that many of the political and technical facts they record were imparted to the writer by other persons. As corroborative of these remarks, and calculated to characterise the writer, whose literary and political talents it is the object of this Essay to elucidate, I may be permitted to select a few passages from critics who have evidently qualified themselves to pronounce sound and discriminating opinions on the subject.

The first is from the pen of the *Rev. John Mitford*, whose numerous biographical and critical Essays on Gray, and other poets, as well as prose writers, are evidences of his familiar acquaintance with ancient and modern literature. In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February, 1842, he says:—

> "In that long and crowded gallery, on the walls of which are suspended the portraits of those authors whose names are emblazoned in characters of fadeless lustre, and enrolled for ever in their country's history, there is *one* frame to be seen, from which the dark and mystic veil that originally covered it has never

been removed: the name of JUNIUS is indeed written under it, but no one has yet seen the authentic features of the original; and time, that for the most part discloses all secret things, has long failed in dissipating the obscurity which surrounds this."

Again, in the same valuable periodical, for February, 1847, Mr. Mitford writes—

"To Junius must undoubtedly be given the praise bestowed on those who have successfully practised the rhetorical art, and who are versed in all the skilful artifices of composition. He abounds in happy turns of expression, sentences pointed with skill, ingenious disposition of arguments, and an animation of style and language that keeps attention awake, and enlivens the driest subject. Marks of great labour are visible in the formation of his style. The words are selected with peculiar care, and the sentences moulded and polished into a form appropriate to the subject, and arranged not only with attention to the harmony, but with relation to the impression to be produced.

"His *malignity*, however, has seldom been surpassed: it is such as no concession can soften, no flattery beguile. He often plays long with his victim, keeps him in suspense, and then, when wearied with his cruel sport, despatches him with a blow. Sometimes accusation after accusation is repeated, that their aggregated weight may overpower; and sometimes, after an ostentatious display of clemency, a sudden change of manner and language is assumed, the sentence pauses for a moment—and the last few words are fatal. Junius abounds in penetrating observations on human nature, and he was also a sagacious observer of men as affected by the usages, and acted on by the complicated relations of society; and when he rises in his wrath, and arms himself for his work of defiance, he pours down his severity of censure with a certainty and strength that few would have the courage to withstand. But unmitigated violence is not always successful, and excessive vituperation begets a doubt of its justice. It does not seem as a contest between equal and equal. We cannot believe that the unknown knight who has entered the lists is of gentle birth. There is throughout a sort of swaggering air, like that which the impudence of the bully assumes to intimidate his superior; and he who only attacks his enemy from the security of an ambush, confesses at least either some weakness in his cause or some distrust of his powers. No one can deny that the accusa-

tions of Junius are exaggerated beyond all proportion with truth and fact, whether he delights to creep on in bitter sarcasm and envious malignity, or to burst forth in the open defiance of exasperated revenge. Party feeling is allowed to be strong, and great licences are given to its language; but Junius adds to that a savageness of attack, that delights in mangling what it cannot destroy, and discusses political conduct with all the bitterness of personal resentment. Junius in the heat of controversial attack, in the security of disguise, and with 'the immunities of invisibility,' advanced many false charges and rash accusations; but his ability is never more decidedly shown than by the skilfulness with which he covers his retreat, and alarms his adversary with a menace of a future attack, at the very time he is obliged to retire from the contest. He endeavours to intimidate his enemy by the boast of a formidable reserve of fresh forces; and when the open insolence of anger has done all it could do, the final destruction is accomplished by sarcasm, derision, and contempt."

On another occasion, in March, 1841, the same masterly critic writes—

"It must be recollected that Junius was a most skilful master of the weapons he delighted to use: he was a gladiator of the first order, and that his long series of attacks were made with consummate dexterity and boldness. In his own line he has never been equalled."

The ensuing judicious narrative and remarks, by a critic who it is evident has deeply studied the subject, are from a Biographical Article in "The Georgian Era," (8vo.) which appeared in the year 1832. They are so truly applicable to our present purpose, and so usefully explanatory of the Junius Letters, and of the times when they were published, that I willingly avail myself of a lengthened extract.

"Junius, it is scarcely necessary to observe, was the writer of a series of the most powerful, caustic, fearless, and eloquent political philippics that ever appeared in this or any other country. He was a perfect master of the art of composition; nothing could exceed the beauty of his style but the terrible

virulence of his abuse. His learning, his experience, and his information as to passing events were equally great. The influence which he acquired over the public mind was unexampled. Glorying in the loftiness of his intellect, his amazing powers of language, and the impenetrable cloud with which he had artfully, but perhaps meanly, enveloped himself, no station, however exalted, was secure from his attacks. He assumed all the stern dignity of justice, and the remorseless severity of fate. Nobility afforded no protection against his shafts, to which even royalty itself was vulnerable. He drew tears from the eyes of a monarch remarkable for firmness, and consigned a prime minister to scorn and infamy, enduring as the language in which he wrote.

"The Letters of Junius were first printed in the 'Public Advertiser.' His early communications to Woodfall, the proprietor, according to that gentleman's statement, were signed 'Mnemon,' 'Atticus,' 'Lucius,' 'Brutus,' 'Poplicola,' 'Domitian,' 'Vindex,' &c. Stimulated by the applause with which his comparatively hasty productions were received, he at length commenced a series of papers, written with the utmost possible care, to which he uniformly attached the signature of *Junius*. The first of these was published on the 21st of January, 1769; and it is said to have produced as great a sensation as any political production that ever issued from the press.*

"There can be no doubt that Junius was a man of fine talents and finished education, who had carefully studied the language, the law, the constitution, and history of his native country. It seems equally clear that he was a man of independent fortune; that he had access to the court; and was intimately acquainted, from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident. That he was in easy circumstances appears from the fact, that he would never receive any remuneration for his writings from Woodfall, notwithstanding the immense sale to which, in consequence of their popularity, the 'Public Advertiser' attained. When the first genuine edition of his letters was ready for publication,

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* During *the year* 1769 Junius wrote no less than fifty-four letters, including some signed Junius, others with different signatures, and some private notes to Woodfall. There is often only a day's interval between these letters. He appears to have been absent from London some days in August, and three weeks in October and November.

Woodfall urged him to accept half its profits, or to point out some public charity to which the money might be presented. Junius replied, 'What you say about the profits is very handsome: I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person, I think, has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it, therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence; without it no man can be happy, nor even honest!'

"An additional proof of his affluence occurs in the following passage of one of his private letters:—'For the matter of assistance, be assured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it; in point of money you shall never suffer.'

"That Junius was a person of rank, may be reasonably inferred from many of his own expressions, as for instance:—'It is true I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present Ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that *my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.*' That he had access to Court, and was connected with Government, appears from his immediate knowledge of the designs, and his intimate acquaintance with the acts of those in power. 'You may assure the public,' said he, in a private letter to Woodfall, dated January 17, 1771, 'that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with all possible expedition for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry; without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance I give you, that every man in the Administration looks upon war as inevitable.' When the Duke of Grafton's friends were extolling his patriotism in refusing to sell a situation to Mr. Vaughan, Junius instantly denounced his grace as the shameless vendor of another patent office: a transaction which was thought by the parties concerned to have been impenetrably secret.

"In his *letter to the Duke of Bedford*, he narrated facts which could be known only to persons intimately acquainted with the Russell family, and when Woodfall was threatened with a prosecution for publishing that letter, he received a private communication from Junius to the following effect:—'It is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve something expressly to awe him. I am sure I can threaten him pri-

vately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave!' In another note to Woodfall, he wrote thus of a man named Swinney :—'He is a wretched but dangerous fool; he had the impudence to go to Lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius – take care of him.' How Junius, unless he had been Lord Sackville himself, should have been acquainted with this circumstance, as it appears he was immediately after it occurred, baffles all conjecture.

"Whenever he alluded to the personal hazard he incurred by the disclosure and castigation of political delinquency, he evidently wrote with a full sense of his own importance. 'It is by no means necessary,' he observed, in his last letter to Sir W. Draper, 'that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though you would fight, there are others who would assassinate. The following passage occurs in one of his confidential notes to Woodfall :—'I must be more cautious than ever : I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days, or, if I did, they would attaint me by bill.'

"In his correspondence with Woodfall, every precaution that ingenuity could devise, or apprehension could suggest, was employed to baffle the attempts of those who attempted to trace him out. His own parcels were sent direct to the printing-office; but he obtained the replies of Woodfall by stratagem :—They were addressed to him in such fictitious names, and left at such coffee-houses as he, from time to time, appointed. In one of his notes to Woodfall, he said : 'change to the Somerset Coffee-house, and let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction : act honourably by me, and at the proper time you shall know me.'

"When there was a parcel waiting for him, the fact was announced in the 'Public Advertiser,' among the notices to correspondents, by some preconcerted signal, as, N.E.C.—A Letter—C. in the usual place : or a line from a Latin Poet. It does not appear in what manner he procured his letters from the coffee-houses to which they were sent. As he twice declared that he was the sole depository of his own secret, and that it should die with him, it might be supposed that he uniformly went for them himself; but in one of his private notes he says to Woodfall, 'The gentleman who conducts *the conveyancing part of our correspondence* tells me there was much difficulty last night.'

"It is most likely that he employed some trustworthy messenger, who, how-

ever, might not have been fully aware of the nature of his agency. A tall gentleman, dressed in a light coat, with bag and sword, once threw a letter, from Junius, into the office door of the 'Public Advertiser,' in Ivy-lane. He was immediately followed by Mr. Jackson, of Mr. Woodfall's office, into St. Paul's Churchyard, where he got into a hackney-coach and drove off.—Was this Junius himself, or the gentleman who conducted 'the conveyancing part' of his correspondence with Woodfall?

"In general, he appears to have been satisfied that the obstacles which he threw in the way of those who sought to discover him were insurmountable. 'Be assured,' said he, in one of his confidential notes to Woodfall, 'that it is not in the nature of things that they (the Cavendish family), or you, or any body else, should ever know me, unless I make myself known: all arts, or inquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual.' And again, in his letters to Wilkes, he observed, 'At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate—and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime. The mystery of Junius increases his importance.'

"But occasionally he seems to have been under considerable apprehensions of being detected. 'Upon no account,' said he, in one of his private notes to Woodfall, 'nor for any reason whatever, are you to write to me until I give you notice!' During a period of three weeks, he never addressed Woodfall without warning him to beware of Garrick.

"Woodfall, however, imprudently told Garrick, in confidence, that Junius would probably soon cease to write. Garrick immediately hurried with the intelligence to Ramus, one of the royal pages; and Ramus, without a moment's delay, conveyed it to the king, who was then residing at Richmond. Within twelve hours Woodfall received a note from Junius, with the following postscript:—'Beware of David Garrick. He was sent to pump you, and went directly to Richmond, to tell the king I should write no more.'—Shortly afterwards (November 10th, 1771), he penned the following extraordinary epistle to Garrick; which, however, was never forwarded: 'I am very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, and of the information you so busily sent to Richmond, and with what triumph and exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day. Now, mark me, vagabond—Keep to your pantomimes; or, be assured, you shall hear of it. Meddle no more, thou busy

informer. It is in my power to make you curse the hour in which you dared to interfere with Junius.'*

"It appears from the following expressions in his correspondence with Woodfall, that Junius was unsparing of toil, to achieve excellence as a writer. Of his first Letter to Lord Mansfield he says, 'The enclosed, though begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured.' Of his concluding and most famous Letter, he observes, 'At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you with no small labour.' On another occasion, after expressing much anxiety that the dedication and preface to the genuine edition of his letters might be correct, he thus continues, 'Look to it—if you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive you suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.'

"His last public letter was printed on the 21st of January, 1772. Twelve months afterwards (January 19, 1773), he sent the following note to Woodfall, who never heard from his extraordinary correspondent again: 'I have seen,' says he, 'the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public: both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible.'"

The acute and truly philosophical Coleridge thus speaks of the Junius correspondence:—

"The great art of Junius is never to say too much, and to avoid with equal anxiety a common-place manner, and matter that is not common-place. If ever

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* I have the authority of the present Mr. Woodfall for stating that his grandfather, Henry Sampson Woodfall, did forward to Garrick a copy of this letter from Junius; the words "impertinent inquiries" being altered to "practices" by desire of the author. The manuscript, in the hand-writing of Woodfall, was found amongst Garrick's papers, and realised a high price at the sale of his effects.

he deviates into any originality of thought, he takes care that it shall be such as excites surprise for its acuteness, rather than admiration for its profundity. He takes care? Say rather, that nature took care for him.

"It is impossible to detract from the merit of these Letters: they are suited to their purpose, and perfect in their kind. They impel to action, not thought. Had they been profound or subtle in thought, or majestic and sweeping in composition, they would have been adapted for the closet of a Sidney; or for a House of Lords, such as it was in the time of Lord Bacon; but they are plain and sensible whenever the author is in the right; and whether right or wrong, always shrewd and epigrammatic; and fitted for the coffee-house, the Exchange, the lobby of the House of Commons, and to be read aloud at a public meeting. When connected, dropping the forms of connection;—desultory, without abruptness or appearance of disconnection;—epigrammatic and antithetical to excess;—sententious and personal;—regardless of right or wrong;—yet well skilled to act the part of an honest warm-hearted man; and, even when he is in the right, *saying* the truth but never proving it,—much less attempting to bottom it;—this is the character of Junius: and on this character, and in the mould of these writings, must every man cast himself, who would wish in factious times to be the important and long-remembered agent of a faction. I believe that I could do all that Junius has done, and surpass him by doing many things which he has not done: for example—by an occasional induction of startling facts, in the manner of Tom Paine, and lively illustrations and witty applications of good stories and appropriate anecdotes, in the manner of Horne Tooke. I believe I could do it, if it were in my nature to aim at this sort of excellence, or to be enamoured of the fame and immediate influence which would be its consequence and reward. But it is not in my nature. I not only love truth, but I have a passion for the legitimate investigation of truth. The love of truth, conjoined with a keen delight in a strict yet impassioned argumentation, is my master-passion, and to it are subordinated even the love of liberty and all my public feelings; and to it whatever I labour under of vanity, ambition, and all my inward impulses."

These remarks on the literary merits and peculiarities of the "Letters" serve not only to characterise them as the emanations of high intellect, but also to indicate that of the profound critic.

"With few exceptions, the seventh 'Letter' of the series is a blameless composition. Junius may be safely studied as a model for Letters, when he truly writes *letters*. Those to the Duke of Grafton and others, are small *pamphlets* in the form of letters."

"Perhaps the fair way of considering these Letters would be as a kind of *satirical poems*; the short and for ever balanced sentences constitute a true metre; and the connection is that of satiric poetry, a witty logic, an association of thoughts by amusing semblances of cause and effect, the sophistry of which the reader has an interest in not stopping to detect, for it flatters his love of mischief, and makes the sport."

LETTER XII.—"One of Junius's arts, and which gives me a high notion of his genius, as a poet and satirist, is this: he takes for granted the existence of a character that never did and never can exist, and then employs his wit, and surprises and amuses his readers, with analysing its incompatibilities."

LETTER XXIII.—[*To the Duke of Bedford.*]—"Sneer and irony continued with such gross violation of good sense, as to be perfectly nonsense. The man who can address another on his most detestable vices in a strain of cold, continual irony, is himself a wretch."

LETTER XXXV.—"*This address to the King* is almost faultless in composition, and has been evidently tormented with the file. But it has fewer beauties than any other long letter of Junius; and it is utterly undramatic. There is nothing in the style, the transitions, or the sentiments, which represents the passions of a man emboldening himself to address his sovereign personally. Like a Presbyterian's prayer, you may substitute almost everywhere the third for the second person without injury. The newspaper, his closet, and his own person, were alone present to the author's intention and imagination. This makes the composition vapid. It possesses an Isiocratic correctness when it should have had the force and drama of an oration of Demosthenes. From this, however, the paragraph beginning with the words 'As to the Scotch,' and also the last two paragraphs, must be honourably excepted. They are, perhaps, the finest passages in the whole collection."*

The following comments, on the nature, merits, and demerits of the Letters now referred to, are evidently by an accomplished and

* "Coleridge's Literary Remains," vol. i., p. 248—255.

able critic. They are from "The History of Party," by George Wingrove Cooke, Esq., Barrister, 8vo., vol. iii., p. 189, &c.

"The powers of this writer, as they are displayed in these Letters, stand unrivalled in any age or language. Bolingbroke could declaim in majestic and harmonious language; allure his readers by a display of disinterested and patriotic sentiment, and animate them against his enemies by the eloquence of his accusation; the elegant Addison could please, could ridicule, could convince; Swift was an inimitable lampooner, unhesitating in his assertions, and strong in abuse; but JUNIUS surpassed all these. He addressed himself to the powerful passions of our nature, captivated attention by rancorous abuse, sarcastic invective, and ferocious personalities; yet disguised these so well by the purity of his language and the grace of his style, that while we relish the pungency we do not taste the grossness. He offers us an excitement to our passions, but the goblet appears so pure that we pour from it a libation to virtue; he fences with a rapier of the highest temper and polish; while we admire his amazing dexterity we do not perceive that the blade is poisoned—that the same weapon, urged by an infant's hand, would inflict a deadly wound.

"The aim of Junius was not calm conviction, it was tumultuous excitement; conviction might pen pamphlets, but would scarcely withdraw one vote from the well-pensioned majority of the minister; excitement would carry terror into the cabinet and the closet, and constrain by fear men who were deaf to virtue. Thus, the weakest invention which his readers believed—and all things are credible to an enraged people—was readily caught up by Junius, and embalmed in the amber of his diction. He caught the topics and scandal of the day, and wrought upon them until those who had seen and received them in their native coarseness, were surprised and delighted to find truths, in which they thought they had an interest, presented in such an elegant and engaging garb.

"It was thus that Junius excited attention. At this distance of time the keenness of his satire attracts thousands of readers who know nothing of the secret history of the period, and little of the characters he assails. If his style can charm such persons, how must it have excited his contemporaries, who saw in every sentence a wound inflicted upon an enemy, and knew that the man they hated was writhing under the infliction. The mystery of the authorship lent an additional shade of interest to the Letters. Junius was exempt from the failings of humanity, he had no conduct on which his satire could be re-

torted, no personal friendship which he *dared* not violate, no consistency to preserve beyond his Letters; cased in impenetrable armour, he mingled with the crowd, and pointed his unerring shafts in security: the throne was not too high, the cottage not too low, for his visitations.

"Such were the causes of Junius's popularity; but he was not destitute of other excellences. He could reason clearly and strongly, and his Letters contain many beautiful specimens of logical argument. He was possessed of profound political knowledge, and he was immediately and accurately informed of the secret transactions of the day. Junius enjoyed every opportunity of becoming a perfect political writer, and he used them."

From the latest publication which has been devoted to the writings of Junius, and which contains much discriminating criticism, and an able "Review of the Controversy," by John Jaques, Esq., I subjoin the following extracts.

"Although the moralist cannot but condemn, and the Christian must view with abhorrence, the vindictive spirit which pervades the Letters of Junius, no person can withhold from their author the applause due to *a great writer*, of whose genius any country might be justly proud. In the powers of combination and generalisation requisite to strike out broad and philosophical views of politics, Junius may have been excelled by Burke: but in the ability to concentrate all the energies of a commanding intellect on any subject he chose to discuss, and to depict in a vivid and graphic manner every varying shade of human character—in the talent for presenting the results of a matured experience derived from an extensive intercourse with every grade of society; in just, striking, and profound axioms on human nature, and the affairs of the world—few authors, besides Shakspeare, can be placed in competition with him. Whilst in the extraordinary union of keen and withering sarcasm, with a style condensed and clear to an eminent degree, and polished to intense brilliancy by the most delicate and refined taste, we believe him to stand unrivalled."—(p. 385.)

"It would be difficult to select from any of Junius's writings more favourable specimens of his style than the letters he wrote to Sir William Draper. They display, in an eminent degree, all the acuteness and tact for which their author was so celebrated, and contain passages of the most refined and polished irony, with less of that savage and ferocious sarcasm in which he afterwards indulged,

> when the voice of an admiring nation had awarded to him the palm due to the first political writer of the age."—(p. 73.)

Remarks and opinions by Lord Brougham, and by Edmund Burke will be found in page 4 of the present volume.

The Letters of Junius ought not to be referred to or read merely as political tirades, as personal satires and strictures on public men, or as the splenetic effusions of a vivid and vigorous mind against individuals whom the writer regarded as his personal enemies; but as containing much historical and constitutional information—as abounding in moral and philosophical maxims and doctrines, as exhibiting acute views of worldly policy—and particularly as worthy the study of the barrister, the politician, the author, and indeed every lover of, and student in literature.

Their qualities and characteristics are well and fully discriminated in the writings of the authors already quoted. Consistency of character, and undeviating honesty of principle, did not belong to Junius; nor are these often to be met with in persons of sanguine and ardent temperament. Such virtues were unfashionable at the time Junius wrote: indeed, we should seek in vain for them in any of the politicians and placemen of that age. We can scarcely name one who was not a slave to party, to the tyranny of custom, or to the sottish, debauched, and swearing habits of the times. Walpole has exhibited and described these moral misdemeanours in vivid terms; whilst Junius paints them in glaring colours. Inconsistency of character, especially in politics, was regarded as a common-place vice, and many statesmen were like the common weather-cock, shifting and veering about with almost every party current. An anonymous author, who alternately censured and praised, calumniated and panegyrised the same person at different times and under different aspects, may be said to have "gone with the stream"

—to have "followed the fashion"—to have acted in harmony with his compatriots and fellows. Making, however, every allowance for the vile practices of the times, we cannot either reconcile or pardon the capricious inconsistency of Junius in alternately holding up the same persons to public scorn and admiration from any, or from every rise and fall of the political thermometer. Even the amiable and estimable Patriot, the Earl of Chatham, was fulsomely praised and as severely censured both by Junius anonymously, and by Colonel Barré personally. The unprincipled John Wilkes was both assailed by the abuse, and flattered by the praises of Junius, who after having treated him with the most avenging sarcasm and contumely, made him a sort of confidential agent in city business, and personal negotiations. The declaration of the anonymous writer in the Preface to his "Letters" that he was "the sole depositary of his secret" is equally inconsistent and untrue, as are also many other statements and assertions in the same epistles. All clearly exemplifying the poetical maxim of Sir Walter Scott, when he exclaims,

> "Oh, what a tangled web we weave,
> When first we practise to deceive."

The ensuing pages will be found to contain much new and original information respecting the biography and personal character of Colonel Barré, who has been referred to by some writers who have indulged in speculations on the authorship of the Letters of Junius; but whose literary talents and position in the political world have never before been investigated and expounded.

In conclusion, it is a duty I owe to several noblemen and gentlemen, some of whom are personally strangers to me, to acknowledge and thank them for obliging and interesting letters which they have favoured me with in answer to my inquiries. Amongst these I may enumerate Field Marshal Lord Viscount Beresford ; the Primate of

all Ireland; the Duke of Buckingham; the Marquess of Lansdowne; the late Sir Thomas Baring, Bart.; Adjutant General Sir John Macdonald; Sir David Brewster; Sir Henry Ellis; Sir Thomas Dean; Sir William Betham; Sir Frederick Madden; Sir Francis Palgrave; His Excellency George Bancroft; J. B. Bevington, Esq.; John Baring, Esq.; Captain Beresford, Royal Artillery; John Bowring, Esq., LL.D., M.P.; G. W. Cooke, Esq.; Bolton Corney, Esq.; Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq.; R. A. Davenport, Esq.; Atkins Davis, Esq.; John D'Alton, Esq.; Charles R. Dod, Esq.; Edward Dubois, Esq.; the Rev. G. R. Gleig; R. L. Hastings, Esq.; the Rev. S. Hayman; J. M. Henderson, Esq.; John Jaques, Esq.; R. S. Mackenzie, Esq., LL.D.; W. Owen Madden, Esq.; Thomas P. Matthew, Esq.; the Rev. J. Mitford; John Morgan, Esq.; D. J. Murphy, Esq.; George Petrie, Esq.; Thomas Prior, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Rees; N. W. Simons, Esq.; William Tooke, Esq.; Dr. Walsh; Rev. John Ward; John Windele, Esq.; and H. D. Woodfall, Esq.

All the above-named persons have promptly and obligingly answered letters of inquiry, and some of them have also made researches and incurred expense in official places, to authenticate facts or satisfy doubts. I have written considerably more than one hundred letters, and examined above one hundred various literary works, in the hopes of attaining that species of evidence which could neither be controverted, nor doubted; but failing to find unequivocal proofs, am induced to submit the following results to the public, presuming they may lead to new and conclusive discoveries by reference to sources now, for the first time pointed out, and to persons and places hitherto not suspected. In the language of sportsmen, a new scent is found, and traced through various labyrinths—the wily fox is unkennelled, and his haunts and habits made known to the enterprising hunter.

J. B.

JUNIUS ELUCIDATED.

PRELIMINARY ADDRESS.

LETTERS OF JUNIUS, THE MYSTERY ATTENDING THEIR AUTHORSHIP—POLITICAL STATE OF THE TIMES—FIRST LETTER BY JUNIUS, ITS POWER AND EFFECT—SIR WILLIAM DRAPER'S REPLY—MORE THAN THIRTY PERSONS NAMED AS THE AUTHOR, IN VARIOUS PAMPHLETS AND ESSAYS—ALLUSION TO THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE—THAT NOBLEMAN INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED WITH DUNNING, AND BARRÉ, IN PARLIAMENT AND POLITICS—THE THREE PAINTED IN ONE PICTURE BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS—THESE PARTIES PECULIARLY QUALIFIED TO PRODUCE THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS—STYLE OF THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE—HIS DECLARATION TO SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS—DR. GOOD'S OPINION OF DUNNING'S TALENTS—COLONEL BARRÉ, HIS CAREER AND CHARACTERISTICS—FIRST PUBLICATION OF THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS IN THE "PUBLIC ADVERTISER"—WOODFALL'S EDITION IN 1812—ABSTRACT OF DR. GOOD'S "PRELIMINARY ESSAY"—WORKS PUBLISHED ON THE SUBJECT SINCE 1812.

AMONG the mysteries and "Curiosities of Literature" is the authorship of Junius's Letters. These celebrated political Essays and Satires acquired on their appearance and have maintained extreme and unprecedented popularity; not only from their causticity and unflinching truthfulness of tone and statement, but from the impenetrable mask which concealed the features of the author. The presumed immunities and privileges of Parliament,—the tyranny of King-craft and Minister-craft,—the vassalage of party writers, and the dread of state prosecutions, had previously kept the public press in a state of abject bondage; when a few anonymous letters appeared

in the "Public Advertiser" between the years 1767 and 1772, and raised a storm on the political ocean, which endangered many vessels that had till then sailed smoothly on its placid surface.

Several of these writings had excited public attention before the first which bore the signature of JUNIUS.* This was a deeply-matured, sententious, searching political production, calculated to excite curiosity, and provoke controversy. Fortunately for Junius and his cause it called a champion on the stage (Sir William Draper) who exhibited so much petulance and uncontrolled anger, that it occasioned a public reply from Junius, and seriously injured his own friends and the party he espoused, whilst he gave decided advantages to an antagonist who skilfully inflicted on him the most mortifying and maddening punishment. Junius admitted that Sir William impelled him "to say more of Lord Granby's character than he originally intended;" and it is more than probable that if the angry Baronet had not replied to the first Letter of Junius, the latter would never have obtained his subsequent notoriety; the monarch might have escaped the delicate satire which was inflicted on him in the thirty-fifth Letter of the series, and his unprincipled and unworthy ministers might have remained in power to exercise their wanton and reckless tyranny for many more years. Justly might they exclaim, "Save us from officious friends, and we will bear with open enemies."

Notwithstanding the celebrity these Letters acquired, and the strenuous efforts that have been made at various times since their publication, and by every artifice that cunning could devise, to discover the anonymous author or authors, no conclusive or satisfactory result has ever yet been attained. Prosecutions and imprisonments for libel, Essays, Pamphlets, and Discussions, have all failed to detect the true "Junius;" who, up to this time, has preserved his incognito, and has upheld and maintained his mystic mask.

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* Dated 21st January, 1769.

More than thirty different persons have been named as the author, and the respective advocate of each has devoted more or less of hypothesis and argument in pamphlet, magazine, review, or incidental essay, to show that he has identified the writer. It is generally agreed that not one of the persons hitherto named had all the qualifications which are displayed in the "Letters" referred to. Even Sir Philip Francis, whose case and claims are stronger than those of any other person, wanted some of the most essential attributes. But I forbear to comment on him and others in this place. My course and duty will be to endeavour to substantiate my own theory, which I purpose to do by giving a short narrative of the origin, progress, and final issue of my own researches on the subject.

In the 14th volume of the "Beauties of England and Wales," in the account of Wiltshire, and, speaking of the late Marquess of Lansdowne and his seat, Bowood, I expressed myself as follows:— "Among the number of persons to whom the Letters of Junius have been attributed is the Marquess of Lansdowne: but on this point all our sagacious pamphleteers and political quidnuncs have failed to produce proofs or probabilities. The author of these justly-admired Essays remains undiscovered, according to his own motto, *Stat nominis umbra*. His name, connections, private character, and public pursuits, are unknown to the world: but the writer of this article can affirm, and is enabled to prove, that the secret was not *deposited in one breast*, nor is it buried with the author.* On this delicate, intricate, and highly interesting subject, he must, however, forbear to dilate in these pages, but may probably be induced to advance some arguments and develope facts at a future time, and in another place."

The lapse of time since the above paragraph was penned, has not altered the opinions which I then entertained, and which are now

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* "I am the *sole depositary* of my own secret, and it shall perish with me."— JUNIUS, *Dedication of his Letters to the English Nation.*

more fully avowed and explained. Extensive reading and much inquiry on the subject, mature deliberation, and comparison of the evidence for and against this theory, have only served to persuade me that the real author is at length named and identified.

The intimacy which subsisted between the late Marquess of Lansdowne (then Earl of Shelburne), John Dunning, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barré, at the time the Letters were in course of publication, was so extremely close, and so remarkable in its exclusiveness, as to strengthen materially the position which I now assume; and I find that the same view of the subject was taken in a letter to the *Morning Herald* newspaper, of the 15th of January, 1813.

To show the extent of their friendship, and the remarkable connection of the three parties with each other, it may be necessary to mention a few particulars. They were nearly of the same age; there being only ten years difference between the oldest and the youngest of the three. Dunning and Colonel Barré were both introduced into the House of Commons by Lord Shelburne, as nominees for his own boroughs of Calne, and Wycombe; and on all occasions they espoused the same politics as his Lordship. Colonel Barré and Lord Shelburne were both natives of Ireland, and officers in the army. When the latter was appointed Secretary of State, in 1766, Colonel Barré became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Dunning was Solicitor-General in the same administration, 1768. When his Lordship was again in office, in 1782, as Foreign Secretary, Colonel Barré joined him as Treasurer of the Navy. A few months afterwards Lord Shelburne became Prime-Minister and Barré Paymaster of the Forces: simultaneously with this valuable official appointment he was compensated for the loss of his commission, of which he had been deprived by a former Tory government, by a pension of £3200 a year. Dunning was at the same time created Baron Ashburton, with a seat in the cabinet. His second son and heir was named Richard *Barré*. The Colonel and Dunning were almost constant visitors at Bowood and at Lansdowne House, London. Finally, to commemorate this extraordinary friendship

between three persons of high talents, political partisans, the late Sir Francis Baring (who was a brother of the widow of Lord Ashburton) commissioned Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1784-5, to paint a splendid picture of the three. Dunning had then been dead little more than twelve months, and his son and successor in the title was an infant. Sir Francis Baring, though somewhat their junior, was on intimate terms with the parties now under consideration, having himself represented in Parliament two of Lord Shelburne's boroughs. The picture was painted at his house on Putney Heath. Reynolds no doubt had the advantage of sittings from Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, both of whom survived their friend; and he had before painted a separate portrait of Dunning. The late Sir Thomas Baring recently informed me that he recollected Reynolds's visits to Putney Heath, whilst engaged upon the picture. A large mezzotint print was engraved by James Ward, A.R.A., from the original painting, for Sir Francis Baring, but has never been published.

From all these circumstances it is highly probable that this eminent triumvirate were likely to embark together in any political or other confidential undertaking. In combination, at least, if not individually, they possessed *all* the qualifications which those Letters so peculiarly manifest. Rank and fortune; mature age; actual service in a particular military expedition; highly cultivated talents and education; a critical knowledge of the language, laws, constitution, and history of England; an immediate connection with the court; an early acquaintance with every ministerial motion or intrigue; a familiar knowledge of the affairs of the different public offices; and particularly an intimate acquaintance with all military matters, jointly show that they were qualified to produce the Letters of Junius.

It may be remembered that Junius displayed in his correspondence with Sir William Draper a knowledge of private communications which had passed between that worthy Baronet and the Earl of Shelburne, respecting the affairs of Corsica and the Manilla ransom. This circumstance, in addition to the general politics of the Earl,

his court connections, and other concurrent testimony, has led many persons to attribute the Letters to his Lordship. The following passage from one of his Letters to Sir Samuel Romilly, will show that his style of composition was at once correct, animated, and vigorous :—

> "I thank God the King has nobody about him cunning and wicked enough to advise him to meet the desire of reform, and compose a Parliament of qualified men. I mean in the solid, legal sense; for I verily believe a more corrupt, ignorant, and tyrannical assembly would not be to be found upon the face of the earth, especially with a little scattering of a certain profession, which I will not presume to name, but which the King has found too useful to consent to any Reform which went to exclude them."—Oct. 8, 1792.—*Life of Romilly*, p. ii., vol. 14.

Only a week before his death (1804), the Marquess of Lansdowne was personally appealed to on the subject of Junius by Sir Richard Phillips, who communicated to the Editor of the "Monthly Magazine" a very interesting account of their conversation. On stating to his Lordship "that many persons had ascribed those Letters to him, and that the world at large conceived that, at least, he was not unacquainted with the author;" the Marquess smiled and said, "No, no, I am not equal to Junius, I could not be the author; but the grounds of secrecy are now so far removed *by death** and changes of circumstances, that it is unnecessary the author of Junius should much longer be unknown. The world are curious about him, and I could make a very interesting publication on the subject. I knew Junius, and *I knew all about the writing and production of those letters.* But look," said he, "at my condition; I don't think I can live a week—my legs, my strength, tell me so; but the doctors, who always flatter sick men, assure me I am in no immediate danger. They order me into the country, and I am going there. If I live over the summer, which, however, I don't expect, I promise you a

* Both Dunning and Colonel Barré were at that time dead.

very interesting pamphlet about Junius. I will put my name to it; I will set that question at rest for ever." Being further pressed by the same person, his lordship said, "I'll tell you this for your guide generally; Junius has *never yet* been publicly named. None of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him. I knew him; and knew all about it, and I pledge myself if these legs will permit me, to give you a pamphlet on the subject, as soon as I feel myself equal to the labour."*

There is no inconsistency between the theory I now advocate and these statements of the Marquess of Lansdowne: for I believe, that at the time of this interview, Colonel Barré *had not been publicly named* as author of the Letters of Junius.

With respect to Dunning, Dr. Mason Good observes: "Of all the reputed authors of these celebrated addresses, Dunning, Lord Ashburton, offers the *largest aggregate of claim* in his favour. His age and rank in life, his talents and learning, his brilliant wit and sarcastic habit, his common residence in London during the period in question, his political principles, attachments, and antipathies, conspire in marking him as the man." Yet, as will be shown hereafter, the learned Doctor does not adopt the theory so strongly fortified.

The chief objection raised by Dr. Mason Good is the fact of his having been Solicitor-General from January, 1768, till January, 1770; thus continuing in office long after Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré were in opposition. But it is notorious that Dunning differed on numerous points with his colleagues, most especially on their prosecution of Wilkes; in which, although Solicitor-General at the time, he took no part. We are therefore justified in supposing that he retained his post merely from the ambition of the lawyer, apart from the zeal of the politician; and that no man was

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* *Monthly Magazine*, July, 1813.—The present Marquess of Lansdowne, in a letter to the same periodical, says, "It is not impossible my father may have been acquainted with the fact, but perhaps he was under some obligation to secrecy, as he never made any communication to me on the subject."

more likely to adopt the ready means afforded by a secret correspondence, to castigate the follies of those with whom he unwillingly associated. We may also assume, from his close intimacy with Lord Shelburne, that he could hardly have been ignorant of a secret which his Lordship avowed his knowledge of.

We must now direct attention to LIEUT.-COLONEL ISAAC BARRÉ, who was born at Dublin in 1726, was a student in the University of that city, and afterwards placed in one of the London Inns of Court to study the law. He subsequently entered the army, and experienced much hard service in America. Becoming a political associate of Lord Shelburne, he was placed in Parliament by the latter, and with extraordinary boldness commenced his legislative career by a fierce attack upon Mr. Pitt. Through the influence of General Wolfe he obtained promotion in the Army, whilst from his political patron he obtained some lucrative offices under Government; but was deprived of nearly the whole by the King and the Duke of Bedford, in consequence of his vote in favour of Wilkes. He was on terms of friendship with those whom the pen of Junius spared, and opposed to those whom it castigated. He took an active share in the debates in Parliament, whilst the "Letters of Junius" were in course of publication; espousing the same views as those enforced by the anonymous satirist. He continued to be an intrepid and eloquent debater throughout the American war, being in fact the chief and most formidable antagonist of Lord North, under whose ministry that contest was so long maintained. He ultimately retired from political life under the infliction of total blindness,—the consequence of a wound at the battle of Quebec, and died in Stanhope Street, London, in the year 1802. The peculiar character of Colonel Barré's eloquence and personal temperament, especially indicate him as qualified to produce the Letters of Junius, and his situation and political connections strongly corroborate the inference. This will be made apparent in the ensuing narrative, in which I am enabled to develope and explain many events in his life, and many facts and incidents tending to

show his natural disposition to mystify his own actions, and to castigate those who opposed, or in any way injured him.

Amidst the influx of literary publications of the present era, addressed and adapted as they are to all degrees and classes of the reading public, there is scarcely time for a man, however desirous of information, to peruse attentively those standard and substantial works, which may be ranked as the classical literature of the country. We rarely find a person thoroughly acquainted with the works of Milton, Pope, or Dryden—of Hume, Robertson, or Gibbon—of Fielding, Smollet, or Sterne; yet each and all of these authors were for a long period not only universally read, but justly admired and praised. So were the writings of Burke, Paine, and the anonymous Junius. In order to bring the last mentioned satirist once more before the public, and impart to the reader some general notion of his mental powers and peculiar literary characteristics, as well as of the excitement and commentary which his Letters produced, it will be expedient to give a concise account of them, and of their effects.

The Letters signed Junius, and others by the same author with different names subscribed to them, made their first appearance in a daily newspaper called "The Public Advertiser," of which Henry Sampson Woodfall was the printer, and is presumed to have been the editor, and chief, if not sole proprietor. A Newspaper at that time was very unlike those of the present day. Its sale also was comparatively very limited. It was precluded from printing reports of the speeches in the Houses of Parliament; it had but few advertisements; and its "leaders," with other original matter, were often trite and commonplace: but after the middle of the last century such men as Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, and William Woodfall, wrote for the daily journals, not only original articles, but speeches, either spoken or said to have been spoken in Parliament. Their reports or paraphrastic versions of such speeches excited much public attention, and likewise the reprobation of certain members whose language or opinions were not favourably related. Indeed some of the printers

were prosecuted. In 1771, the printers of those periodicals, who had long intended doing so, finally resolved to report the debates of both Houses. Colonel Onslow made a motion against them as guilty of a violation of the privileges of Parliament, and certain printers were summoned to appear before the House. Wheble and Miller, however, refused to obey the summons; and the minister thought proper to issue a proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds for the apprehension of the offenders. They were apprehended and taken before the Lord Mayor, Alderman Wilkes and Alderman Oliver, who repudiated the minister's authority. Such proceedings could not fail to agitate politicians, both in and out of Parliament, and we accordingly find that long and severe personal debates occurred in the House of Commons, in which Colonel Barré took a leading part; at the same time, the newspapers and magazines abounded with essays and strictures against the ministers.* This subject gave occasion and ample matter for the famed John Wilkes to comment on with sarcastic severity in his popular paper called "The North Briton;" and also to Colonel Barré in the House of Commons, as well as to Junius and many other anonymous writers in "The Public Advertiser," "The Middlesex Journal," "The London Evening Post," "The St. James's Chronicle," "Baldwin's London Journal," "The London Magazine," "The Gentleman's Magazine," &c.

Under such circumstances, and in such times, the Letters of Junius made their appearance, to "make mad the guilty, and appal the free." Before the series was completed, they had acquired so much publicity, that certain printers transferred some of them to their newspapers and magazines, whilst others reprinted the whole, in a hasty and slovenly manner, in separate volumes. Annoyed and injured by this conduct, Mr. Woodfall solicited the sanction of the author, to print a revised and accredited edition, which was readily

* See a full explanation of the proceedings relating to these events in Woodfall's edition of "Junius," 1812, vol. iii., p. 344.

granted; and the work was speedily produced in two small volumes. The author wrote several confidential notes to his printer, not only urging expedition, but manifesting much anxiety in prescribing accuracy of the text. He also requested that three sets of the work should be bound for him, in a particular manner, one of which was to be in vellum, gilt, &c. This was accordingly done, and the choice copy has often been eagerly sought for, as a clue to the author. The whole history of these transactions is detailed in an edition of Junius, published in three octavo volumes in the year 1812; where also will be found the Author's private Notes to Woodfall, as well as others to and from Wilkes.

Previously to 1812 many imperfect editions of these Letters had successively appeared, and my friend, the late Mr. George Woodfall, a most worthy man in private life, son of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, the publisher of the "Public Advertiser," deemed it therefore advisable to print a new, corrected, and greatly enlarged edition of the writings of the anonymous satirist, which is above referred to. He engaged Dr. John Mason Good, to edit the same, to write explanatory notes, and annex to the whole a "Preliminary Essay." In different conversations with both those gentlemen, I have heard them repeatedly state, that they could never satisfy themselves in assigning the authorship to either or to any of the persons who had then been named, and whose identity and qualifications had been advocated by different writers.

In the preliminary essay, Dr. Mason Good touches upon nearly all the points connected with the authorship of these celebrated compositions. He commences by a veracious and graphical description of the calamitous state of the British empire, at the time when the political "great unknown" first addressed the public; and he justly remarks, that never had the history of this country exhibited a period of equal extent that more peremptorily demanded the severe decision and overpowering pen of such a writer as Junius. The Constitution was shaken to its basis; successive ministries were always unsuccessful, and often profligate and corrupt, and parliaments were

weak and obsequious; Great Britain was exposed to universal contempt abroad, and general discord at home; and the American colonies were on the very verge of open rebellion.

On the 28th of April, 1767, Junius, under the signature of "Poplicola," commenced, in the "Public Advertiser," his internecine warfare upon the individuals whom he deemed the foes of liberty and his country. Lord Chatham was the first person on whom he poured out the vials of his wrath; and he followed up the blow by two letters; one of them under the same signature as the preceding epistle, and the other under that of "Anti-Sejanus, Junior." In the last of these a stinging attack is also made upon Lord Bute.

Vigorously as the masked champion had begun the contest, he continued it with still increasing vigour, and with untiring perseverance. As connected with our inquiry, it is worthy of notice that Lord Townshend was the next who felt the keenness of his satire; and that, in the letters addressed to that nobleman, there are sarcastic allusions to two points, which, some years before, had been touched upon in a similar tone, by the anonymous author of "A Letter to a Brigadier General."

Under various appellations, among which are those of Mnemon, Domitian, Vindex, Atticus, Lucius, Brutus, and others, the public defender continued his labours from the 28th of April, 1767, till the 21st of January, 1769, when he finally adopted, for his more elaborate compositions, the signature of Junius, which he had previously used in a single instance; that of Philo-Junius he assumed for subjects of minor importance. His last political letter was printed in the "Public Advertiser," May 12th, 1772. His reasons for then retiring from the field he has himself given, in his private communications to Mr. Woodfall. As early as 1769, the apparent hopelessness of his labours seems to have excited in him a momentary disgust. "I am weary," says he, "of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are really too dull to furnish me with even the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration." He, nevertheless,

for two years and a half longer, persisted in his exertions, and with greater energy and talent than ever; but at length, finding success was rendered impossible by the miserable jealousies and squabbles of the popular party, he relinquished his pen in despair. Twelve months after he had ceased to be a public writer, he thus, in his last private letter to Mr. Woodfall, states the cause of his silence:—"I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. *I meant the cause and the public:* BOTH ARE GIVEN UP. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible."

After a series of able remarks on the feelings, principles, temper, and peculiar style of Junius, Dr. Good proceeds to describe the circumstances which must be combined in an individual, in order to identify him with Junius.

"From the observations contained in this essay," says he, "it should seem to follow, unquestionably, that the author of the Letters of Junius was an Englishman, of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country; that he was a man of easy, if not affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his account; that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets; that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world; that, during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly

in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the 'Public Advertiser;' that, in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable, and impetuous; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities; but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them: that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the established church, and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession. What other characteristics he may have possessed, we know not; but these are sufficient; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forward as the author of the Letters of Junius."

Lastly, Dr. Good passes in review all the persons who, at the time when he wrote, had been suspected of having written these celebrated Letters. They are Charles Lloyd and John Roberts, originally Treasury clerks; Samuel Dyer, a learned man, and a friend of Burke and Johnson; William Gerard Hamilton, familiarly known as Single-speech Hamilton; Mr. Burke; Dr. Butler, late Bishop of Hereford; the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen; Major-General Lee, who went over to the Americans, and took an active part in their contest with the mother country; John Wilkes; Hugh Macaulay Boyd; John Dunning, Lord Ashburton; Henry Flood; and Lord George Sackville.

Few words will suffice to disqualify the first three of these candidates. After having suffered under a lingering illness, Lloyd was on his death-bed when the last private letter of Junius was written. Nor, though he was a prolific pamphleteer, is there any thing in his writings which displays the manner or the intellect of Junius. As to Roberts and Dyer, they had for many months been in their graves, while Junius was still wielding the pen. Hamilton, though with abilities above mediocrity, and though he had vanity enough to declare that he could excel Junius, was a luke-warm politician,

with neither sufficient nerve to plunge into such a perilous contest, nor mental powers and tenacity to sustain it. Burke, who always disowned them (and who, as we know from good authority, repeated his disclaimer almost at the close of his life), has long ceased to be regarded as the author of these compositions. It is, indeed, astonishing, that he should have been suspected; the striking difference between the two writers, in style, in political attachments, and in many political opinions, ought to have prevented such a suspicion. With respect to Dr. Butler, and the Reverend Philip Rosenhagen, they may be dismissed with little ceremony, as there is not a tittle of evidence in their favour. They "come like shadows; so depart!" The claim of General Lee (who is said to have acknowledged the authorship) is utterly demolished in one brief sentence. "It is a notorious fact," says Dr. Good, "that during the whole, or nearly the whole of the period in which the Letters successively appeared, this officer was on the continent of Europe, travelling from place to place, and occupying the whole of his time in very different pursuits." The laurels of Junius cannot, therefore, adorn the brow of General Lee. The title of Wilkes is briefly but decisively nullified. "That he is not the author of them (says Dr. Good) must be clear to every one who will merely give a glance at either the public or the private letters. Wilkes could not have abused himself in the manner he is occasionally abused in the former; nor would he have said in the latter (since there was no necessity for his so saying) 'I have been out of town for three weeks,' at a time when he was closely confined in the King's Bench." The pertinacity and assurance with which the claim of Hugh Macaulay Boyd has been urged have induced Dr. Good to enter at some length into the subject; and he demonstrates clearly that the claim is unfounded—that Boyd possessed neither the affluence nor the mature years of Junius, nor that writer's easy access to the circle of high life and to the secrets of State, nor even his political principles, Junius being a decided mixed monarchist, and Boyd a wild, random republican. That Boyd was an imitator of Junius is beyond dispute; but he bears only such a resemblance

to his original as the spurious metal and stamp of the coiner bear to the legitimate currency of the Mint. The essayist despatches Dunning in few words; but admits that he has "the largest aggregate of claim in his favour;" his age, rank, talents, learning, brilliant wit, sarcastic habit, and political principles, attachments, and antipathies, all conspiring to mark him for the man. Dr. Good, however, is of opinion that all these indications are neutralised by various circumstances, the chief of which is that Dunning was Solicitor-General when the Letters first appeared, and for more than twelve months afterwards. That Flood could not be Junius is abundantly proved by a reference to dates. Dr. Good closes his inquiry with a notice of "the pretensions which have been offered on the part of Lord George Sackville," to the validity of which pretensions he has evidently a leaning. He owns, nevertheless, that "it is peculiarly hostile to the opinion in favour of Lord George Sackville, that Junius should have accused him of want of courage." This question has, however, been subsequently argued at great length by Mr. Coventry and by other writers. One thing is certain, namely, that if the anonymous "Letter to a Brigadier General" was, as it indisputably seems to be, from the pen of Junius, Lord George Sackville could not possibly have had any part in the subsequent celebrated political Letters.

Since the date of Dr. Mason Good's Essay (1812), numerous attempts have been made to discover the Author of the Letters, with the aid of the "Private Correspondence," the "Miscellaneous Letters," and other information comprised in Woodfall's edition. These attempts have given rise to several trifling and improbable theories, which have been very imperfectly supported; but amongst the publications which have appeared in the same interval, a few are of considerable importance in the history of this question, from the degree of talent, industrious research, and ingenuity, which their authors have displayed.

It may be useful to the general reader to mention briefly the most important of these works. Beginning with the year 1813, *John*

Roche must be referred to as the writer of "An Inquiry concerning the Author of the Letters; in which it is proved by internal as well as by direct and satisfactory evidence, that they were written by the *Right Honorable Edmund Burke.*"—(8vo.) It is needless to say that the "proof" adduced in this volume is utterly valueless; and notwithstanding the very general opinion which formerly prevailed that Burke was connected with the Letters, Mr. Roche's book seems to have excited little notice. The year 1813 witnessed three other publications on Junius: indeed the appearance of Woodfall's edition gave fresh interest to the inquiry, and the magazines of the same and the succeeding year teemed with correspondence on the subject. My friend, the late *Rev J. B. Blakeway*, published "An Attempt to ascertain the Author of Junius's Letters," (8vo. pamphlet), wherein he ascribes them to John Horne Tooke: an idea so utterly improbable, upon the face of the Letters themselves, that I am at a loss to conceive how my learned and estimable friend could have adopted it. Notwithstanding the veto of Dr. Mason Good, *Thomas Girdlestone, M.D.*, also produced "Facts tending to prove that General Lee was the author of Junius" (8vo., pp. 138); and another work, which attracted considerable notice and discussion, was put forward by Mrs. *Olivia Wilmot Serres*, in the following confident terms: "*Life of the Author* of Junius's Letters,—the *Rev. J. Wilmot, D.D.*, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford." (8vo.) In 1815, the Letters were attributed to *Richard Glover* (generally known, from the title of a poem which he wrote, as "Leonidas" Glover), in a pamphlet with the following title:—"An Inquiry concerning the Author of the Letters of Junius; with reference to Memoirs by a celebrated Literary and Political Character." This improbable idea was followed by another assigning the authorship of the Letters to *the Duke of Portland.* The advocate of the latter notion, whose name is unknown, advanced his theory in the form of "Letters to a Nobleman, proving a late Prime Minister to have been Junius, and developing the secret motives which induced him to write under that and other signatures."

(1816, 8vo.)* *Dr. Busby* is supposed to have been the author of "Arguments and Facts" (published in the same year), tending to show that *John Lewis de Lolme*, the author of a famous Essay on the Constitution of England, was the writer of the anonymous epistles.

In 1816, one of the most popular works on the subject of Junius first made its appearance. This volume bore the names of Messrs. Taylor and Hessey, as publishers, and was considered to be the production of the former,—Mr. *John Taylor*. It was entitled "The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living character established;" and it first put before the public, in a very able and ingenious manner, the claims of *Sir Philip Francis* to the authorship of Junius. A "Supplement" to the volume appeared in the succeeding year (1817); and a second edition of the whole was published in 1818. The author of "Junius Identified" displayed great power of reasoning and acuteness of argument in this work, and the singular coincidences which he adduced, in matters of date and fact, between Junius and Sir Philip Francis, induced many critics and general readers to consider the question as settled. But a more scrutinising spirit has since arisen, and the statements and arguments of this writer are found to be inconclusive, whilst the frequent denial of Sir Philip Francis has continued to gain credence. It may be desirable to add, that Mr. Taylor's opinion is supported by Edward Dubois, Esq., formerly the confidential friend and private secretary of Sir Philip, who, in common with Lady Francis, still entertains the conviction that his deceased patron was identical with Junius.

Considerable weight was given to Mr. Taylor's volume by an ad-

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* The motive assigned in this case was to obtain the restitution of the forest of Inglewood and the manor of Carlisle, of which the Duke of Portland had been deprived by the ministry under the famous "Nullum Tempus" Bill, which Junius opposed. The author says:—"The Duke regains this property; and Junius writes no more."

mirable notice of it in the "Edinburgh Review," for November, 1817, said to have been written by Lord Brougham; wherein, after analysing the various theories before advanced, the profound and discriminating writer warmly espoused the claims of Sir Philip Francis.

In 1817, the "Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Manuscripts," by *George Chalmers*, F.S.A., was published: and that work, itself an able piece of criticism and argument from minute and obscure premises, advocated the pretensions of *Hugh Macaulay Boyd* to the authorship of Junius. This portion of the "Apology" was reprinted as a pamphlet, and entitled, "The Author of Junius ascertained, from a concatenation of circumstances amounting to moral demonstration."

A good edition of Junius appeared at Edinburgh, in 1822, edited by a person who assumed the cognomen of "Atticus Secundus," and who in a well written preface adopts the theory that Francis was the author of the Letters.

The first writer to dispute Sir Philip's claims with any seriousness, was Mr. *George Coventry*, who in 1825 produced a "Critical Inquiry regarding the real Author of the Letters of Junius" (8vo., pp. 404), which advocates at considerable length, and with great ability, the opinion that *Lord George Sackville* was Junius. Of nearly equal merit to Mr. Taylor's volume, this by Mr. Coventry appears to me equally inconclusive.* It, however, met with cordial assent from numerous readers. In America, two writers at once adopted the theory of Mr. Coventry; one in a volume entitled "Junius Unmasked, or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius" (published, in 1828, at Boston, in the United States); another, in No. 65 of the "North American Review."

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* The author has since left England for America. One of my correspondents informs me, that he altered his opinion on the subject of Junius, and published a pamphlet in support of the claims of Sir Philip Francis; but all my inquiries have failed to meet with any such essay.

The prevalent opinion, founded on the work by Mr. John Taylor, being thus disturbed, the whole question was re-opened; and the literary public were further gratified in 1828 by the appearance of another elaborate volume on the subject, from the pen of Mr. *E. H. Barker,* of Thetford, in Norfolk (12mo, pp. 576), wherein the subject is elaborately discussed; the claims of Lord George Sackville and Sir Philip Francis refuted; and those of *Charles Lloyd*, private secretary to the Honourable George Grenville, zealously and ingeniously, though not very successfully, advocated.

The interest taken in the question in America was further manifested in 1831, by "An Essay on Junius and his Letters, embracing a Sketch of the Life and Character of *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham;* by *Benjamin Waterhouse, D.D.,*" published at Boston.

A valuable addition to the history of the controversy respecting the authorship of Junius was made in 1841 by *N. W. Simons, Esq.*, of the British Museum, who in that year republished an anonymous "Letter to an Honourable Brigadier General [Lord Townshend], late Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Canada" (1760). In a Preface, remarkable for simplicity and a complete knowledge of the question at issue, he ascribes this Letter to Junius, and at the same time refutes the supposition that Sir Philip Francis was directly or indirectly concerned in the writing. Mr. Simons's publication is one of considerable interest in connection with the present essay, and will be more fully adverted to in a subsequent page.

Without dwelling upon the numerous,—the almost innumerable,—articles in Magazines and Reviews, upon this mysterious subject, it will be sufficient to conclude the present list by adverting to the latest comprehensive work relating to it, which bears the following title:—"The History of Junius and his works, and a review of the Controversy respecting the identity of Junius. By *John Jaques;*" (8vo., 1841, pp. 406); in which, after a complete *resumé* of the question, the author arrives at the conclusion that *Lord George Sackville* composed the Letters, and that *Sir Philip Francis* was his amanuensis; thus combining the theory of Mr. Taylor with that of Mr. Coventry.

In submitting to the public the arguments in support of Colonel Barré's claim as the author of the "Letters of Junius," I should observe that his name has been already publicly mentioned in connection with the subject. Indeed, the opinion now advocated,—namely, that the Letters were to a certain extent the joint productions of Barré, Lord Shelburne, and Dunning, Lord Ashburton,—was expressly stated in the "Morning Herald" newspaper, so long ago as January, 1813, but, in the article referred to, the Earl of Shelburne is mentioned as the author, and Barré and Dunning merely as his assistants:—

> "It is said that the author of the celebrated Letters of Junius has been positively ascertained, and that they were written by the Marquess of Lansdowne, father of the present nobleman who bears that title. The secret it appears was not discovered by its connection with any political affairs; but by some verses in the possession of a lady, who had a copy of them before they were transmitted to the printer for publication, and the handwriting of the Marquess is ascertained without the possibility of a doubt. It is well known that the Marquess was long suspected of being the author; and it is by no means improbable that he wrote the Letters in conjunction with his intimate friends *Dunning* and *Colonel Barré*, the one supplying the legal knowledge, and the other many of the bitter sarcasms which were spread through them, and which are quite in the manner of the Colonel, who also probably furnished the military information."

Moreover, Mr. Jaques, in his "History of Junius and his Works," refers to the following "theory of an ingenious reviewer, as a specimen of the strange speculations which have been broached on the subject:"—

> "If it be asked whether we have no guess who Junius was, we answer, he was the *hand*, moved, instructed, and guided by *three heads*. One of these was a nobleman, then extremely desirous of office, and strongly intriguing to obtain it; the second, a counsel of high celebrity, in progress towards nobility; the third was a military man by profession, of notorious senatorial eloquence, and impetuosity. Either of these *singly* could readily deny that he was Junius; and each of them, we believe, has been known to do so. Their combination, if suspected, was incapable of proof; and, in fact, as the trio merely furnished themes, but did not compose the Letters, they would have found little difficulty

in declining the honour, had it been charged on them conjointly. The soul of Junius is, as we conjecture, commemorated in the picture exhibited in Sir Joshua Reynolds's Gallery, representing *Lord Shelburne* of Junius's day, *Mr. Dunning* (Lord Ashburton), and *Colonel Barré* of parliamentary fame, in conference."

The "ingenious reviewer,"—whom Mr. Jaques does not more particularly mention,—proceeds to assume that Dr. Wilmot was the penman who wrote the "themes" furnished by these parties.

Colonel Barré is mentioned as the probable author of the Letters in a communication to the "Gentleman's Magazine" for November, 1813, signed "Midgarth:"—but his claims have never until now been publicly investigated and explained.

In the course of my inquiries on the subject, I learnt from Sir David Brewster that one of his correspondents, a Captain Henderson, Ordnance Storekeeper at Chester, like myself, was of opinion that Barré wrote the Letters. Having spent a day with Captain Henderson many years ago, I immediately wrote to Chester apprising him of the course my investigations had taken, and seeking the advantage of such hints or information as he could furnish. In reply, I was informed that the Captain died in the month of March, 1847, "whilst preparing his remarks on Junius for the press:" but his son, Mr. J. M. Henderson, promptly and kindly forwarded to me the whole of his father's manuscripts, on the subject of Junius. It appears that Henderson's attention was first directed to Barré, as the probable author of Junius, by Lieutenant General Beckwith, one of his brother officers in the Quebec expedition. His papers show that he had devoted much time and attention to the inquiry; and if I had seen them in an earlier stage of my own researches, I should have been spared much labour in ascertaining facts and circumstances which he had previously noticed in his collections. The captain does not assume the existence of any confederacy between Barré and Lord Shelburne, or any other person, but simply contends that the former was the author, unassisted, excepting by an amanuensis:—admitting, however, as the supposition necessarily requires, that he was furnished

with much information by his noble friend. The papers of Captain Henderson, though voluminous, were left by him in such a state as to be unfit for publication. Unaccustomed to literary composition, his style and phraseology are frequently obscure, and his quotations inaccurate; some of the principal authorities were only known to him by extracts in reviews and other periodicals, and he was ignorant of some important elements in the case as now laid before the reader. Through the courtesy of his son, I have been able to avail myself of all that is really useful in the Captain's lucubrations; and it must be acknowledged that the particulars of Colonel Barré's personal and political history which I have been enabled to collect are highly interesting additions to the scanty biography of one of the most celebrated men of the last century.

The question of the identity of Junius is still far from exhausted, and other publications besides the present are now in course of preparation to elucidate the mystery. Amongst these is a volume by Mr. Coulton, the editor of the "Britannia" newspaper, which is announced for speedy publication by Messrs. Longman and Co. Mr. Murray has lately advertised a work on Junius; and it is said that Lady Francis will produce some fresh arguments to strengthen the case of her husband, the late Sir Philip Francis. In America, there is one, if not two works in preparation on the same subject. A gentleman in Sussex has long been occupied in an Essay, intended to show that the "polite" Earl of Chesterfield was the writer of "the Letters." Mr. Woodfall has made arrangements with Mr. Henry Bohn for the publication of a new edition of the Letters; which, if ably edited, cannot fail to be a valuable boon to all persons interested in this obscure literary question. The former edition, by Dr. Mason Good, which is capable of much improvement in the management of the Letters, has become scarce; and it cannot be doubted that a new edition at a moderate price will have an extensive and remunerating sale. Such a publication would be doubly interesting if illustrated by fac-similes of Junius's corrections on the proof sheets of the first authorised edition; copies of the unpublished papers by Junius in

Woodfall's possession; and also of the mysterious letters in the Buckingham library.

Whether the result of the works now announced be confirmatory or otherwise of the opinions I have endeavoured to maintain, I shall feel the satisfaction of having directed attention to some remarkable coincidences between the writings of Junius and the personal career and mental powers of Colonel Barré, which it will be most difficult to explain, if Barré was not the veritable author of the "Letters of Junius."

THE AUTHORSHIP OF

The Letters of Junius

ELUCIDATED.

"THE *SHADOW* CAME! A TALL, THIN, GRAY-HAIR'D FIGURE,
"THAT LOOK'D AS IT HAD BEEN A SHADE ON EARTH;
"QUICK IN ITS MOTIONS, WITH AN AIR OF VIGOUR;
"BUT NOUGHT TO MARK ITS BREEDING, OR ITS BIRTH:
"NOW IT WAX'D LITTLE, THEN AGAIN GREW BIGGER,
"WITH NOW AN AIR OF GLOOM OR SAVAGE MIRTH;
"BUT AS YOU GAZ'D UPON ITS FEATURES, THEY
"CHANGED EVERY MINUTE,—TO *WHAT* NONE CAN SAY."

BYRON.

"KING, LORDS, AND COMMONS, ARE BUT THE SPORT OF HIS FURY."

BURKE.

CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE, AS A PROFESSION—THE AUTHOR'S DEVOTION TO IT FOR HALF A CENTURY—NUMEROUS TOPICS ATTRACTING HIS ATTENTION DURING THAT PERIOD—AMONGST THEM THE "LETTERS OF JUNIUS"—REASONS FOR THE CELEBRITY OF THOSE LETTERS—THE UNPARALLELED MYSTERY ATTENDING THEM—MANY EFFORTS MADE TO ASCERTAIN THE AUTHOR—THE READER'S CANDOUR PROPITIATED—PARTY POLITICS—THE AUTHOR'S EARLY NOTES ON JUNIUS—DR. POPHAM, OF CHILTON—TOMBSTONE OF WILLIAM GREATRAKES, AT HUNGERFORD—RECENT INQUIRIES—CONCLUSION THAT COLONEL BARRÉ WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE LETTERS, WILLIAM GREATRAKES, THE AMANUENSIS, AND THAT LORD SHELBURNE AND JOHN DUNNING FURNISHED POLITICAL AND LEGAL INFORMATION—COURSE ADOPTED BY THE AUTHOR IN THIS INQUIRY.

ASSIDUOUS and zealous devotion to any profession for half a century ought to entitle its professor to a diploma of rank, or some other honorary distinction;—and the talented Author ought cer-

tainly to calculate on, at least, an equal reward and distinction, with the successful professor of Medicine, of Law, or of Religion. But, alas! the Literary Character is not yet properly and duly appreciated in Great Britain, nor are there any distinguishing titles, or lucrative places, destined for its ultimate reward. Let us hope that amongst the many social changes and improvements now in prospect, and in progress, the claims of Literature will meet with due regard from national gratitude and justice. The many painful and distressing appeals which are continually made to the Literary Fund Society—the petty and paltry sum that is annually bestowed by the government, from the privy purse, (£1,200)—the Asylum which certain literary gentlemen have but recently found, in the Charter House, alike show that literature and the literati have never been justly and generously treated in England.

I have written and read much during the last fifty years on the varied and fluctuating events and novelties of each succeeding year, as well as on the annals of the "olden times;" and having also associated with many of the literati, politicians, and other classes of society, I have had opportunities of becoming familiar with most of the popular topics which have successively engaged public attention. Anecdotes of persons, places and things;—rumours and realities of wars, insurrections, and treasons;—facts of stirring interest and historic importance;—panics and pauperism;—revolutionized France and conquered China;—have alternately come under review, whilst hopes and fears have been successively excited, realized, or dispelled.

Amongst the innumerable subjects of public attention and inquiry which have interested Englishmen during the period referred to, the "LETTERS OF JUNIUS" stand pre-eminent. These celebrated compositions have acquired a more extended popularity, and maintained a greater influence in the republic of letters, than almost any other political or literary production. They were the result and issue of circumstances. The government and the parliament—the state of parties and of literature—the individual temper and character of the actors, and the general condition of Society at that time, jointly and

severally conspired to produce and encourage such a series of remarkable political essays.

> "This was a time," says a recent able writer, "when all constitutional remedy was suspended, and the House of Commons had become an instrument of tyranny to tax to the utmost the power of the press,—an engine whose power rises from its necessity, and increases with its pressure; which can at such a crisis as this, alone supply the want of a representative body, and by imbuing multitudes with the same definite purpose, enable them to use the power they had been accustomed to delegate."*

The frequent changes of ministry and the virulence of opposition excited and kept alive personal and party feelings to an extent which can now hardly be imagined. So dependent were men in power upon extraneous and secret support, that during the first three years after the accession of George the Third, the government of Mr. Pitt expended more than £30,000 in rewarding the authors of numerous pamphlets which that ministry had caused to be printed and circulated in vindication of their public measures.†

In proportion to the necessity for a public censor were the vast abilities of the mysterious satirist who then arose; and in the same proportion did his writings fix the attention of the public upon the vices and follies of the misguided men whom they so powerfully assailed. As individuals have dwelt by turns upon the vindictive malice of some of his attacks, or the polished irony of his general language and the keenness of his satire, so have the letters of Junius been alternately stigmatised or admired. An illustrious statesman of the present day, remarkable alike for his genius, learning, and aberrations, endeavours to depreciate even the literary talents which Junius is generally admitted to have possessed.

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* Cooke's "History of Party," vol. ii., p. 118 :—a luminous and discriminating publication.

† "Anecdotes of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham." 4to., vol. i., p. 177. "The names of *Smollett, Mallett, Francis, Home, Murphy, Mauduit*, and many others, were the instruments employed upon this occasion."

"He appears," says the noble lord, "to have been a person in whose bosom every fierce and malignant passion raged, without the control of a sound judgment, and without any kindly feeling to attemper his nature. Writing at a time when good or even correct composition was little studied, and in the newspapers hardly ever met with, his polished style, though very far from being a correct one, and further still from good pure English, being made the vehicle of abuse, sarcasm, and pointed invective, naturally excited a degree of attention, which was further maintained by the boldness of his proceedings. No man can read a page of any letter without perceiving that the writer has but one way of handling every subject, and that he constructs his sentences with the sole design of saying the most bitter things he can in the most striking way; without ever regarding in the least degree their being applicable or inapplicable to the object of the attack. The consequence is, that the greater part of his invective will just suit one bad man, or wicked minister, as well as another. It is highly probable that, whoever he might be, he had often attacked those with whom he lived on intimate terms, or to whom he was under obligations. This affords an additional reason for his dying unrevealed."*

Again, adverting to the epoch of their publication, perhaps the comments on and appreciation by Burke of Junius, furnish the best evidence of the opinions then entertained respecting these famed epistles. In his place, in the House of Commons, that eloquent and accomplished orator thus alludes to the person and to the subject:—

"How comes this Junius to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or upon you, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he lays another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold, I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, sir, there are in that composition many bold truths by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom by which I was struck. In these respects the North Briton is as much inferior to him as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected from this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him

* Lord Brougham, in a memoir of Lord Mansfield, "Sketches of Statesmen of the reign of George III."

rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched and still crouch beneath his rage; nor has he dreaded the terrors of your brow, sir;* he has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our royal eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, lords, and commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he a member of this house, what might not be expected from *his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity?* He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises or threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public."

Many causes are to be assigned for the immediate effect and popularity of the Letters of Junius. Amongst which may be enumerated their intrinsic merit, as literary compositions; the caustic severity of their personal satire; the exalted station and political power of the parties assailed; the vituperative replies of some of the individuals attacked; the legal prosecutions which were instituted against their printers and publishers; the profound and unexampled secrecy that involved their authorship during the five years in which they were successively produced, and for three quarters of a century since; and, finally, the numerous pamphlets and essays† which have been published, from time to time, in the vain endeavour to affix the authorship on particular individuals, and which have greatly contributed to keep these extraordinary Letters prominently before the public.

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* Sir Fletcher Norton, then Speaker of the House of Commons, (1770), was remarkable for large, black eye-brows.

† A catalogue raisonné of these would be a curiosity of literature, and would astonish the reader who has not devoted much attention to the subject. It was my intention to have given one on the present occasion, but the task would require more time than I can devote to it, and would augment the size of the present Essay, to its disadvantage. At least thirty volumes and pamphlets have been written and published, and I learn that three others are now preparing for the press—one of which is in America. The papers and letters in magazines, reviews, newspapers, and other periodicals are almost innumerable.

In the wide range of literature there is not to be found a case to parallel that now referred to. There never was a publication that has occasioned more inquiry, discussion, speculation, and research: —yet, strange to say, the veil, or mask assumed by the author has not hitherto been removed,—the mysterious source of the stream that poured forth such "troubled waters" has never been traced to its spring head; the private character, the object, motives, and animus of the writer have never been satisfactorily explained and elucidated.

In attempting to remove this mystic mask, to show the human face, and thereby relieve the public mind from further suspense and doubt, it is candidly admitted that no testamentary record,—no death-bed confession,—no long-concealed positive declaration can be adduced, as a single and conclusive proof of the authorship. Nor is it likely that such peremptory evidence will ever be found, or was ever left on record: for the perils of discovery naturally occasioned the most consummate wariness and precaution in the responsible actor. That he was a Protean performer is admitted by friends and by foes:—that he had the cunning of the fox, the eye of the lynx, and the craft and courage of the tiger, is equally evident. Hence we must not expect to find a direct and absolute proof in any one fact, but rather hope to trace the mystery to its source by circuitous and intricate ways. This has been my process on the present occasion, and the result is now submitted to that numerous class of readers who feel an interest in the elucidation of any literary mystery, generally, and of this in particular.

Accustomed for many years to a different branch of literature, I must acknowledge that I commenced, and have prosecuted the present task with diffidence and hesitation; but the fair and candid critic will make every reasonable allowance for defects of style, of logic, and of argument; and judge rather by the spirit and intention of the writer than by his language, or the polish of his periods. Had I the eloquence of a Junius, a Gibbon, a Burke, or a Johnson, I should be able to render more ample justice to the

materials I have accumulated, and to the cause which I have ventured to advocate.

Aware that the subject is essentially connected with party politics, and that the Letters were originally, and have long been, regarded as libellous, treasonable, seditious, democratic, and republican, I must seek to propitiate the reader's impartiality and candour, by the assurance that for many years past I have endeavoured to discipline my own mind, and to cure it of all party bias. I have seen enough of men and their actions, to know that there are good and bad in each and every sect and party; and that moderation and tolerance are the best evidences of true patriotism and political worth, or excellence. Party feelings and prejudices I disclaim, as I have long been convinced of their folly and injustice.

Sceptical myself, I cannot expect a reader to surrender his judgment and conviction but upon the most cogent and conclusive grounds; and if the evidence on which my own opinion is based be trust-worthy it cannot fail to produce a corresponding result in the mind of the reader. Influenced solely by a love of truth and historical integrity, I have carefully and sedulously devoted much time, inquiry, and research to unravel a knot, the clue to which was presented many years ago to my young and inquisitive mind. Had I duly felt the importance of the subject when the first hints and facts were related to me; had I followed up the scent which was then strong and vivid, many curious and striking circumstances might have been discovered, and much labour, which has now been rendered necessary, might have been spared me: but after the printing of the "Beauties of England and Wales" had commenced (in the year 1800), my best mental energies were continually engaged in the prosecution of that work and in others which sprung out of it. Occasionally, however, the fame and mystery of the Letters of Junius attracted my study and attention; and I progressively accumulated hints, facts, and data, which about two years ago, on commencing an Auto-biography of my own literary life, I found amongst a mass of other papers. It was then my purpose to give

a brief epitome of them merely, in that personal Memoir; but I have been led, almost insensibly, to further research, and also to an extensive correspondence; and having thereby obtained a variety of new and remarkable information confirmatory of previous conjectures, and conclusive, as I believe, of the true authorship, I have been induced to offer them to the public in the present form and manner, independently of, and detached from, the intended Autobiography.

At the end of the last century, I visited the town of Hungerford, and several places in its vicinity, to collect materials for a topographical work, to be called "*The Beauties of Wiltshire.*" I then formed an intimacy with the Rev. Dr. Popham, of Chilton, with whom I continued on familiar and corresponding terms till his death, at a very advanced age, in 1815. He was a man of learning, and of a literary turn. In his early professional career, he held the vicarage of Lacock, for more than twenty years. This being in the immediate vicinity of *Bowood*, he became an occasional guest at that splendid house and hospitable home; and there met many distinguished politicians, men of Science, Literature, and Art, during the years 1769, 70, 71, and 72. Amongst them, Counsellor Dunning and Colonel Barré were the most regular and constant visitors and associates of its noble owner, Lord Shelburne. These three spent the parliamentary recess together at Bowood for many successive years. The Colonel and the Counsellor were protégés of the Nobleman, having represented in Parliament the boroughs of Calne, and of High Wycombe, both of which were in the gift or patronage of Lord Shelburne. Public men and public measures were necessarily the subjects of frequent conversation at these symposiums, amongst which the Letters of Junius had no small share of comment and criticism. The extraordinary finesse displayed in mixed parties by the three persons above named, and the difference of their language, when comparatively in conclave, excited the particular attention of my friend; and he became confirmed in opinion that they were either the authors of the

Letters referred to, or were familiar with the writer. "The Public Advertiser" was regularly sought for, and referred to daily, with avidity; and on one particular occasion it was spoken of with unusual curiosity and confidence. At the dinner-table on a certain day, when the clergyman and the three politicians only were present, Junius was not only noticed, but a certain attack on his writings, which had just excited much attention, was freely discussed. On this occasion one of the party remarked, that it would be shown up and confuted by Junius in the next day's Advertiser. When the paper came the next day, instead of *the* Junius, there was a note by "the Printer," stating that the letter would appear in the ensuing number. "Thenceforward," said Dr. Popham, "I was convinced that one of my three friends was Junius." This opinion he afterwards repeated to me. Many years' intimacy with Mr. Bayliffe, and Mr. Ralph Gaby, of Chippenham, two respectable solicitors of that borough, and who had frequent intercourse with the Bowood parties above named, strengthened this impression; for each of those gentlemen believed that the Letters of Junius were written by one of those eminent politicians. The widow of Mr. Bayliffe, a well-informed lady, in the eightieth year of her age, writes me word, that her Husband died with this conviction.

That Dunning and Barré continued in familiar intercourse with Bowood and its noble owner for many years after the discontinuance of Junius, we find by the correspondence of Jeremy Bentham, who mentions them repeatedly in connection with other eminent persons whom he met, and was charmed with, at that truly classical seat. Amongst them we find young Mr. Beckford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Rev. Dr. Priestley,* the Reverend Dr. Price, and

* The history of this amiable, scientific, and literary gentleman is intimately associated with Bowood, and the character of Lord Shelburne: as he was attached to that nobleman for seven years, at 250*l.* per year, with house, &c., had charge of his library and MSS., had a laboratory expressly furnished for him at Bowood, and travelled with his lordship through Flanders, Holland, Germany, &c., in 1774. "In fact," he says, "I was with him as a friend, and consequently was introduced to his Lordship's eminent associates both at home and abroad. I

the Rev. Joseph Townsend, and many other persons eminent for taste, learning, and influence. Bentham's animated comments on the splendid hospitalities of the house, the fascination of the host and hostess, and the varied talents and characters of the guests, render his Letters from Bowood as amusing and interesting as those of Pliny, or of Horace Walpole.

The following passages are at once strongly characteristic of the writer and the individuals referred to:

"There seems no want of money here: grounds laying out, and plantations making, upon a large scale;—a gate going to be made, with a pyramid on each side of it, for an approach to the house at six miles distance; the pyramids to be at least 100 feet high. I call it Egypt. In the way, you have deep valleys, with meadows and a water-mill at the bottom of them; and, on the sides, craggy rocks, with water gushing out of them, just for all the world as if Moses had been there."——"The master of the house, to judge from every thing I have seen yet, is one of the pleasantest men to live with that ever God

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saw," says the Doctor, "a great variety of characters, amongst whom was the Rev. Dr. Frampton, a man of great conversational talents and sparkling wit; whose company was much courted."—Like too many others of the brilliant Sons of Genius, he neglected the common obligations of man to man, and was imprisoned for debt, which occasioned illness and death in the prime of life. Although it appears that Dr. Priestley was generally well satisfied in his connexion with Lord Shelburne, before the end of seven years he required change, with novelty of pursuit and association. "I was not at all satisfied with that mode of life. Instead of looking back upon it with regret, one of the greatest subjects of my present thankfulness, is the change of that situation for the one in which I am now placed." On parting, Lord Shelburne settled an annuity of 150*l.* on the Reverend Doctor, and regularly paid the same. The subsequent career of the philosopher and divine was involved in vicissitude and many sorrows. A barbarous and demi-savage mob of infatuated religious persons burnt his house, books, and scientific property, at Birmingham; and he sought safety by retiring, first to London, and afterwards to America, where soon afterwards he died, February 6, 1804.—"*Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley*," by himself, 2 vols. 8vo, 1806.

It is to be regretted that these memoirs are so brief: for the author must have had much intercourse with Dunning, Barré, &c., during his connection with Lord Shelburne, but he mentions them only once, in saying that his lordship was very desirous of re-engaging him to supply their place, when they left Bowood, about the year 1779.

put breath into: his whole study seems to be to make every body about him happy; servants not excepted; and in their countenances one may read the effects of his endeavours. Strangers are lodged in a part of the house quite separate from that which is inhabited by the family. Adjoining to my bedchamber I have a dressing-room, and should have a servant's room if I had one to put into it."——"On our visit to Wilton the only company besides ourselves were an officer who was quartered at Salisbury, and young *Beckford* of Fonthill, who, on the 28th of this month (August, 1781), comes of age, and gives a grand fête to all the world. *Lord Pembroke* is one of the best bred, most intelligent, pleasant fellows I ever met with in my life; they say he is mad, but if his madness never shows itself in any other shape than it did then, I wish to God I could be mad too. He talked with infinite vivacity, saying many good things, and no foolish ones."——"We have just now a monstrous heap of people. Arrived before dinner, Lord Dartry and *Colonel Barré*."——"Barré abounds in stories that are well told and very entertaining. He really seems to have a great command of language; he states clearly and forcibly; and upon all points his words are fluent and well chosen."——"With Dunning I could have no communication; there was no time for it, except a joke or two, which the devil tempted me to crack upon him immediately upon his coming in. With Barré, although we have few ideas in common, I am upon terms of some familiarity, owing to the good-nature and companionableness of the man."

My own acquaintance with Bowood commenced in the year 1797, when, as already mentioned, I began to collect materials for "The Beauties of Wiltshire;" and for which work the Marquess of Lansdowne was the first nobleman who gave me encouragement. On intimating my object to his lordship, he presented me with Andrews and Drury's Survey of the county, in eighteen large sheets—also Robertson's Topographical Survey of the Road from London to Bath, and other books and papers, calculated to serve me in my daring project. I was also promised aid from the valuable library in Lansdowne House, London, and found a kind and obliging friend in Mr. Williams, the respectable librarian. His Lordship also gave me introductions to three or four gentlemen in the vicinity —viz., Mr. Methuen, of Corsham,—Mr. Heneage, of Compton,—Sir Andrew Baynton, of Spye Park, and James Montagu, Esq., of Lackham, by all of whom I was impressed with a strong opinion of the great political knowledge of the Marquess, and of the extra-

ordinary talents of those who congregated around him at his country seat.

It was about the same time that my attention was directed to a tombstone in Hungerford Church Yard, to the memory of WILLIAM GREATRAKES, which I well remember seeing, and which bore the following inscription:—

HERE ARE DEPOSITED THE REMAINS OF WILLIAM GREATRAKES, ESQ., A NATIVE OF IRELAND; WHO, ON HIS WAY FROM BRISTOL TO LONDON, DIED IN THIS TOWN, IN THE 52ND YEAR OF HIS AGE, ON THE 2ND DAY OF AUGUST, 1781.

Stat Nominis Umbra.

The motto of Junius, thus remarkably affixed to the epitaph of a comparatively obscure individual, was certainly calculated to excite curiosity; but there were other circumstances attending the death of Greatrakes at the Bear Inn, Hungerford, which tended greatly to encourage the opinion that he was intimately concerned in the Letters of Junius. These circumstances have been occasionally noticed by writers on Junius, but never with the attention they deserve. Without anticipating the facts and arguments which will be hereafter adduced respecting William Greatrakes, it will be sufficient, in this place, to observe that he was personally connected with both Colonel Barré and Lord Shelburne, and that the persevering inquiries which I have lately made respecting him, have convinced me that he was the amanuensis employed by Junius to copy his Letters for the Public Advertiser.*

Although it will be rendered evident hereafter that the genuine Letters were the production of one author,—that they were all prepared for the press by one master-mind, we shall find that there was a tripartite union in their component and combined parts. It cannot fail to be noticed by every attentive reader that they

* Some very remarkable facts relating to papers belonging to Greatrakes, have recently been communicated to me by two Gentlemen of Cork; and will be produced in a subsequent page of this essay.

contain a variety of technical and professional knowledge, which is rarely, if ever, to be found united in one person; and certainly not in any one of the authors to whom these Letters have been hitherto ascribed. Independently of caustic satire, of severe irony, of vindictive personalities, we find the whole correspondence pervaded by three leading subjects—each powerfully treated—viz., political history, military tactics, and legal learning.

In attempting to compare the dates, circumstances, opinions, and events, connecting Junius with the personal histories of Lord Shelburne, Barré, and Dunning, the author has had to encounter many unexpected, conflicting, and perplexing difficulties. No satisfactory memoir of either of the persons here named has hitherto been published, and (in the case of Barré especially) the materials for such narratives are scattered, not only through gazettes, parliamentary and other public records, but in private as well as official documents, contemporary pamphlets, &c., many of which are now extremely difficult of access.

With much labour and perseverance these data have been carefully examined and digested, and the result, though it may not produce conviction in the mind of every reader, unquestionably establishes a very strong case in favour of *Colonel Barré*, as the author of Junius. It appears highly probable also that *Lord Shelburne* supplied Barré with the secret political information which those letters display; and that *Dunning*, the friend and coadjutor of both, was at all events acquainted with the secret, and was consulted upon the legal topics which Junius discussed.

Thus it will be seen that the first proposition I wish to establish is that Barré was the author or composer of the Letters. If I succeed in that, I conceive that the connection of Lord Shelburne and of Dunning with the mystery, follows almost as a matter of course, from their relative position with respect to one another. To Colonel Barré, therefore, it will first be necessary to direct the reader's attention; and probably the best way to show his connection with the *Letters of Junius* will be to mention briefly, and in chronological order, the principal events of his life.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF MEMOIRS OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BARRÉ, EXEMPLIFYING HIS MILITARY AND LITERARY TALENTS, AND SHOWING THAT HE WAS EMINENTLY QUALIFIED TO WRITE THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS—HIS EDUCATION, SUCCESSIVE PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY—UNDER AND FAVOURED BY GENERAL WOLFE—THE LATTER KILLED AT QUEBEC, WHERE BARRÉ WAS WOUNDED IN THE FACE—HIS LETTER TO WILLIAM PITT—SLIGHTED BY GENERAL TOWNSHEND—FAVOURED AND PROMOTED BY SIR JEFFREY AMHERST—BEARER OF DESPATCHES TO LONDON—ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET ON THE COWARDICE OF GENERAL TOWNSHEND ASCRIBED TO BARRÉ.

THE name of Colonel Barré has been so little noticed in connexion with Junius, that it may be desirable in the first place, to secure the attention of the reader by testimonies of his mental powers, and consequent qualification to write the memorable letters in question. He is best known as an able and sarcastic debater in Parliament, where he first appeared in 1761; but few persons are aware of the extent of his accomplishments even as an orator. Two short extracts from his speeches may therefore be usefully quoted as evidence of his qualifications.

> In 1765 the American Stamp Act was introduced into Parliament by Mr. Grenville; and Mr. Charles Townshend concluded an able speech in its support by exclaiming, "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence; and protected by our arms; will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burthen which we lie under?" Colonel Barré, in reply to this, took up the words of Townshend in a most spirited and inimitable manner. "*They* planted by *your* care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and

inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends. *They* nourished by *your* indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of these Sons of Liberty to recoil within them;—men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some who to my knowledge were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a Court of Justice in their own. *They* protected by *your* arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me,—remember I this day told you so,—the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still,—but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate. I will say no more." This speech, which is reported in Gordon's *History of the American Revolution* (vol. i. p. 160), is described as having been very effective in the house: and the Americans who favoured the claims of the colonists afterwards assumed the title which Barré had applied to them, of "Sons of Liberty."*

At a later time Barré strenuously opposed the proceedings which the House of Commons had adopted against the Lord Mayor (Crosby), and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. In 1771 the ministry endea-

* For this speech, and for others of a similar nature which Barré made in the House in vindication and complimentary of the Americans, the Congress solicited him to sit for his portrait to Mr. Stuart, the then famed American Painter.

voured to suppress the practice of reporting the Parliamentary Debates in the newspapers of the time, which practice had increased to a great extent, and became alarming to a reckless government. Warrants were issued and executed for the apprehension of printers and publishers; but the civic authorities refused to commit them, and, on the contrary, bound over the officers of the House of Commons, to answer to charges of assault and false imprisonment. On the part of the government, motions were made and carried in the House of Commons, that these patriotic magistrates were guilty of breaches of privilege, and this was followed up by the committal of the Lord Mayor and of Alderman Oliver to the Tower. Throughout the debates on this occasion Barré took a leading part against the ministry, and upon the question of Alderman Oliver's commitment he delivered a speech remarkable for its vigour, intrepidity, and energy of expression. After broadly denouncing the ministry for the course they were pursuing, he exclaimed,

"What can be your intention in such an attack on all honour and virtue? Do you mean to bring all men to a level with yourselves, and to extirpate all honesty and independence? Perhaps you imagine that a vote will settle the whole controversy? Alas! you are not aware that the manner in which your vote is procured, remains a secret to no man. Listen!—for if you are not totally callous—if your consciences are not seared—I will speak daggers to your very souls. Whence did this motion take its rise? Where was the scheme concerted? Did it originate in this house? Is it the legitimate offspring of this assembly? No; it is the abortion of five wretched clerks, who though a disgrace to this house, have the management, I beg pardon, the mismanagement, of all national affairs. Do not you blush at such infamy? Do not your cheeks burn with shame at being mere machines, or like oxen in a stall, fed by the hand of your master, and forced to draw in his yoke. By heaven! I had rather not exist, than drag such a heavy, such a galling, such a detestable chain. You have struck at the very root of all law and justice, and endeavoured at one blow to annihilate all our liberties. But it is in vain that you hope by fear and terror to extinguish every spark of the ancient fire of this island. The more sacrifices, the more martyrs you make, the more numerous the Sons of Liberty will become. Let others act as they will, while I have a tongue or an arm they shall be free. And that I may not be a witness of this monstrous proceeding, I will leave the House; nor do I doubt but every independent, every honest man,

every friend to England, will follow me. These walls are unholy, they are baleful, they are deadly, while a prostitute majority holds the bolt of parliamentary omnipotence, and hurls its vengeance only on the virtuous. To yourselves therefore I consign you. Enjoy your own Pandemonium—

> " ' When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
> The post of honour is a private station.' "*

The impassioned and courageous speaker immediately left the house. This extract from a lengthened harangue in the same style, will mark the man, the patriot, the orator, and will suffice to show that he possessed both moral courage and sterling talents. It cannot be doubted that one who, in the heat of debate and argument, delivered the speech just cited, would be able by the aid of leisure and study, and animated by a subject interesting to his feelings to produce a composition, which in elegance and energy of style would not be inferior to the letters of Junius.

But the mere command of spontaneous eloquence, however much resembling the written style of Junius, would be but inconclusive proof in such a question as the present; and the reader will therefore expect, and is entitled to, much stronger facts and arguments. Amongst those to be adduced in the course of the present Essay particular reference will be made to a Pamphlet published anonymously in the year 1760, in which the motives and conduct of Lord George Townshend are attacked in language precisely similar to that in which Junius, at a later time, assailed the same officer: and in assigning the authorship of that very interesting production to Colonel Barré such reasons will be given as it is hoped cannot fail to prove that its author and Junius were one and the same person.

From the profusion of military phrases and similes used by Junius, it has long been admitted that a soldier must have been concerned in writing those Letters; and certainly no person who was not either on the head-quarter staff of the Quebec army, or otherwise well acquainted with its proceedings, could have referred, as Junius

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1771. *London Magazine*, July, 1771.

did, to Lord Townshend's despatch from Quebec announcing the surrender of that important citadel. Barré, it will be shown, held a distinguished staff appointment in the army at that time and place.

Junius strenuously espoused the cause of Sir Jeffery Amherst, whom the ministry of the day had injured; and his letters on the subject prove that their writer was in the confidence of that ill-used General. Colonel Barré was befriended by Amherst and lived on terms of the closest intimacy with him. Again, the Colonel's military career was impeded whilst Lord Barrington was Secretary at War, and it will be remembered that Junius severely satirized that gentleman.

Colonel Barré's conduct in Parliament with reference to Wilkes would naturally excite the hostility of George the Third; and the Duke of Bedford, who was then in office, was the cause of his being suddenly deprived of military appointments worth upwards of £4000 a year. It is almost unnecessary to refer, in this place, to the severe but cautious letter of Junius to the King, or to his more personal one censuring the Duke of Bedford.

On the chief political questions discussed by Junius his opinions were in unison with those which Barré advocated at the same time in Parliament; and, without alluding at present to many circumstantial arguments which the Letters furnish in support of the theory now advanced, it must suffice to add that there were ample reasons for the concealment of the authorship in the case referred to; for Barré having become a pensioner upon the public, after the publication of the Letters, could not consistently with the high political principles inculcated by Junius avow himself the writer of those extraordinary productions.

Each of these, and various other circumstances, in proof of the identity of Junius and Colonel Barré, and of the assistance which the latter received from Lord Shelburne and from Dunning in the preparation of the Letters, will be adverted to in the following narrative, which it is hoped will at all events furnish useful materials for future biographical and historical literature.

Of the personal and even the public history of ISAAC BARRÉ, very short and imperfect notices have hitherto been made public. Yet he was a remarkable and influential man in the military, political, and literary annals of his time. Not only in his professional career, with the army in North America, but in his parliamentary and literary character, he manifested talents of a high and commanding nature. By a letter written in 1762, and cited in the *Chatham Correspondence*, it appears that his father was a foreign refugee, settled by the Bishop of Clogher in a shop in Dublin, because his wife had nursed one of the Bishop's children. The father's name was *Peter*, and the family appellation implies a French extraction, and the baptismal appendages both of the father and the son indicate their Hugonotic origin. The revocation of the edict of Nantz probably drove them from their native country.*

A friendly correspondent observes in remarking on the accompanying Portraits of Lord Shelburne, Dunning, and Barré, that "the physiognomy of the last was, like his character, fiery and pugnacious, with a peculiar cast of malignity." The subject of the present inquiry lived and died a bachelor, but his personal connections, though almost entirely political, included some of his relations, particularly the Phipps's. Through the cordiality of his friendship with the Montgomerys, a distinguished Irish family, and their intermarriage with the Beresfords, "*Barré*" became a baptismal appellation in the latter family, and it was also introduced in that of Roberts, of Ealing, Middlesex.†

* The notorious *Du Barres* were a different race, being denizens of France *from* Ireland. They were descendants of the Norman Conquerors of Ireland, of the same name, who, I am informed, are represented in the present day by the Barrymore family, and the Barrys of Ballyclough, near Cork.

† There is something extraordinary, interesting, and pathetic, in the history of a member of this family. Edward Roberts, Esq., of Ealing, was deputy-clerk of the Pells, when Colonel Barré held the clerkship, and the latter was godfather to a son of the former, in March, 1789, to whom he gave his name, *Barré* Charles Roberts. Very early in life this youth manifested a genius of unusual compass and character, for

By reference to the civic records of Dublin it is clear that Peter, the father of Isaac Barré, gradually rose from the humble station already mentioned to one of wealth and opulence. He was a member of the "Dublin Society of Arts and Husbandry" (an important Institution, supported by the principal residents of that city), from its formation in 1750;—in 1758 he was an alderman, which office he probably filled until his death about 1776. In 1766 we find that, besides a warehouse in Fleet Street, Dublin, he had a country-house, at Cullen's Wood.

Isaac Barré was born in the latter end of the year 1726. In 1740 his father sent him to Trinity College, Dublin, as is proved by the following entry in the college Register, extracted by James Prior, Esq., who printed it in his Memoirs of Oliver Goldsmith.

"1740, Novembris 19°—Isaac. Barré Pens.—Filius Petri mercator —Annum agens 14—Natus Dublinii—Educatus sub Dno. Loyd—Tutor Dr. Pelissier."

Intending him for the law, his father afterwards sent him to London, where he entered his name in one of the Inns of Court.

It is probable that the young Barré disliked the profession which his father had selected; for we find that on the 12th of February, 1746, he obtained a commission as Ensign in the 32nd Foot, which at that time was in Flanders. His regiment returned to England in 1747, and again went to the continent early in 1748, where it re-

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when a boy he read various and numerous literary works, and wrote essays and criticisms of surprising acuteness and discrimination. At the age of nineteen he furnished an article for the first number of the Quarterly Review, which induced its learned and caustic editor, William Gifford, to write thus to his father, after the death of Barré Roberts, at the age of twenty-one: "The world has lost talent rarely seen, accompanied with acquirements which, in one so young, were altogether extraordinary. There was an elegance, a playfulness of satire, a chastened degree of humour in what he wrote, that made it truly delightful; the effect of all these was heightened by his sound but unobtrusive literature."—From a volume, containing "Letters and Memoirs of Barré Charles Roberts," 4to., 1804, *privately printed.*

mained till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the same year. From 1749 to 1753 the 32nd was at Gibraltar, and in the three following years the scene of its operations was Scotland. On the 1st of October, 1755, Barré became Lieutenant in the same regiment.

These successive movements of Barré's regiment, from 1746 to 1756, afford the only information I have found respecting his personal history during those ten years; comprising, as they do, the important period from the twentieth to the thirtieth year of his age. Nor has any thing transpired to indicate his learning or literary attainments, at that era. His residence in Scotland for three years may have induced that prejudice against the Scotch character, which is palpably marked in the Letters of Junius ; Johnson was equally inimical to the Scotch, after a cursory view of them and their homes. Barré, as an Irishman, of ardent and enthusiastic temperament, who had mixed in various society, and lived an active life, must have felt a great contrast between himself and the cold and calculating conduct of Scotchmen.

After the year 1756, the personal career of our officer becomes more clearly defined, and many incidents will be found to identify him with the anonymous Junius.

About that time the first Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, conceived the plan of expelling the French from their American and Colonial possessions. In 1757 two expeditions were employed to effect this project; one against Louisbourg, the French strong coast-hold in America ; the other against the coast of France at Rochefort, the latter being intended to prevent the Gallic troops, locked up there, from receiving reinforcements. Both these expeditions failed. The fleet under Admiral Holbourne was ineffectual at Louisbourg ; and at Rochefort the proceedings were merely a series of idle demonstrations, for which the commander-in-chief, General Mordaunt, was tried by a court-martial. Barré was in the latter expedition, and it is necessary to explain his position on that occasion. The immortal Wolfe was Colonel of the 20th regiment, which formed part of Mordaunt's army. At one of the

stations of the 32nd, during the previous ten years, Barré must have come under the favourable notice of that Colonel, for the latter was the cause of his leaving the regiment to which he had been so long attached, and accompanying him as a volunteer to Rochefort. This patronage was the first step to Barré's rise in his profession. Wolfe had been highly successful in disciplining the 20th regiment, and being vigorous and energetic in his actions, and in the councils of the indolent staff of this unfortunate expedition, he acquired the approbation and the confidence of Mr. Pitt. That distinguished minister usurped the superintendence of the various government offices; and, in the management of his own scheme of warfare, appointed all military and naval officers, in a most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner; though his measures were perhaps justified by the personal character and conduct of some of his associates. To repair the failure of Admiral Holbourne, Wolfe was specially selected by the minister to serve as Brigadier, under Sir Jeffery Amherst, in a fresh attack on Louisbourg, and Lieutenant Barré was again chosen to accompany him.

At Halifax the latter was appointed to the staff of the Louisbourg expedition, as recorded in the "General Orders," dated 12th May, 1758:—"Lieutenant Isaac Barré, of the 32nd regiment, is appointed as *Major of Brigade* to this army." Early in July the forces attacked the place, and Wolfe's division was in imminent peril. The men were two days in the boats, exposed to a severe fire, and unable to land in consequence of the dangerous surf. With greater loss than that of the whole army besides, they at length, on the 8th of July, succeeded in driving the enemy from their works and the place surrendered shortly afterwards.

In consequence of Wolfe's declining state of health he returned with Barré to England; but, towards the end of the year 1758, renewed the offer of his services to Mr. Pitt, and, with the local rank of Major General, was appointed to the special command against Quebec in co-operation with Sir Jeffery Amherst, who had remained in America. Barré was promoted on the 30th of Decem-

ber in the same year to be "Major of Brigade, with the rank of Captain in America only, under Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, Quarter Master General there." Only a fortnight afterwards, (on the 13th of January, 1759) he was further promoted to be "Captain in the Army at large, and Major in America only," as well as to the important staff appointment of "Deputy Adjutant General to the forces serving under Brigadier General Wolfe;" and no doubt he owed each of these promotions to the friendship and influence of that gallant General.

The expedition sailed in February, 1759. The army assembled at Halifax and was organised on the 4th of May following:—"His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the Generals and officers in the army commanded by Major-General Wolfe:—The Honourable Brigadier General Monckton—The Honourable Brigadier General Townshend—The Honourable Brigadier General Murray—Colonel Carleton, Quartermaster General—*Major Barré, Adjutant General:*" —being a promotion from his former post of "*Deputy* Adjutant General."

After a tedious passage the army obtained possession of the Isle of Orleans, but were completely foiled in their attempts to draw Montcalm, the French governor of Quebec, out of his defences. Wolfe was at this time severely suffering from a "complication of disorders, which fatigue and disappointment had brought upon him. Townshend and other officers had crossed him in his plans, but he had not yielded. He had himself been one of the warmest censurers of the miscarried expedition to Rochefort, and had received this high command upon his assurance that no dangers or difficulties should discourage him."*

While thus depressed and dispirited General Wolfe transmitted his last despatch to Mr. Pitt,—to whom all the reports of the expedition were personally addressed. This is an interesting document,

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* Walpole's Memoires of George the Second, vol. ii., p. 383.

remarkable for clearness of language and propriety of expression; and it is a singular fact that its production was ascribed by the current report of the army to Major Barré, the official and confidential friend of Wolfe.* It therefore becomes important, in connexion with the present inquiry, as showing Barré's literary ability many years before the publication of the Letters of Junius. The following passage may be quoted as a specimen of the style of this interesting communication.

"I wish I could upon this occasion have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of His Majesty's arms, but the obstacles we have met with in the operations of the campaign are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the numbers of the enemy (though superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country; which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon." . . . . . "All these circumstances I considered, but the desire to act in conformity to the King's intentions, induced me to make this trial; persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties." . . . . . "The Admiral's Despatch and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the General Officers to consult together for the public utility." . . . . . "To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side. By the list of disabled officers, many of whom are of rank, you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting: yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain I know require the

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* This statement is made on the authority of the late Captain Henderson whose papers are referred to in a previous page. The Captain derived his information from Lieutenant General Beckwith, a brother officer of Barré in the Quebec expedition, who resided many years with Henderson at Chester, where he died. The tradition was confirmed to the latter by another officer, who, upon being asked for information respecting Colonel Barré, immediately exclaimed, "What, *he who wrote* Wolfe's famous despatch about the '*choice of difficulties*'?"

most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of His Majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the Admirals and by the Generals; happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of His Majesty's arms in any other parts of America."

This report was dated the 2nd of September, and the General wrote to the Earl of Holdernesse in the same tone of melancholy on the 9th, (*Chatham Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 425): but the desponding language of these communications little accorded with the result of the expedition; for on the 13th of the same month the dying moments of Wolfe, upon the fatal Plains of Abraham, were soothed by the knowledge that the capture of Quebec had been accomplished by the bravery of the British forces. Major Barré was severely wounded in the face in the same action, so as to destroy one eye, and ultimately induce total blindness. In West's celebrated picture of the "Death of Wolfe," Barré is represented as prominent among the group of officers around the dying General, and in placing him in that position the artist was no doubt influenced by a desire to commemorate the friendship subsisting between Barré and his illustrious commander.*

Montcalm, the French commander, shared the fate of Wolfe. Brigadier Monckton, the second in command of the British army was disabled in the battle,† and consequently the duty of transmitting

* Those who were present in the action have recorded that the mortal wound was in the head. West availed himself so far of the artist's licence as to exhibit only another in the breast; no doubt in order to preserve the portraiture; and in like manner the wound of Barré is not shown in the picture.

† Horace Walpole states that the French had 15,000 soldiers at Quebec, whilst our own army consisted only of 7,000 men. "The battle," he says, "was a very singular affair, the Generals on both sides slain, and on both sides the second in command wounded:—in short very near what battles should be, in which only the principals ought to suffer."—(*Letters to Sir Horace Mann*, vol. iii., p. 388.)

intelligence of the victory to England as well as of regulating the proceedings of the army devolved for a short period on Brigadier General Townshend. He selected Colonel Hale to bear the despatches to England, an honour which (together with the consequent promotion) would have been conferred on Major Barré, had his friend and patron Wolfe survived the action.

The Colonel of the 28th Regiment was also killed in this engagement; and as a compliment both to the gallantry of that regiment, which had eminently distinguished itself, and to Brigadier General Townshend, the latter was promoted to its vacant colonelcy. Barré had been a captain "unattached" to any regiment, but he was now appointed to a company in the 28th, under Townshend. This officer returned to England in the beginning of the ensuing winter.

On the 26th of October, 1759, Monckton, who had resumed the command a few days after the battle, embarked at Quebec for New York, with a view to promote recovery from his wound.* Barré and Colonel Carleton, (the latter also being wounded), had previously gone to that city; and Murray was left in command at Quebec, to sustain and to frustrate a counter-siege from the enemy.

Whilst at New York Barré addressed a letter to Mr. Pitt which is so remarkable in itself, and so well describes his professional career down to that time, that it is thought desirable to insert it in this place.

"New York, April 28th, 1760.

"Sir—If I presume to address myself to the first minister of my country, it is under the sanction of a name which is still grateful to his ear. General Wolfe fell in the arms of victory on the plain of Abraham. I received near his person a very dangerous wound; and, by the neglect I have since met with, I am apprehensive that my pretensions are to be buried with my only

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* His case is still noted in the annals of surgery as remarkable. He was shot through the lungs and the ball was cut out from under the shoulder-blade.

protector and friend. The packets bring no directions concerning me; so that I remain as Adjutant General with General Amherst, by his desire, though with a very bad prospect of ever being taken notice of.

"From power I have not interest enough to ask favour; but, unless the discernment of my late general be much called in question, I may claim some title to justice. If my demands appear reasonable an application to Mr. Pitt cannot be charged with great impropriety.

"For want of friends I had lingered a subaltern officer eleven years, when Mr. Wolfe's opinion of me rescued me from that obscurity. I attended him as Major of Brigade to the siege of Louisbourg, in which campaign my zeal for the service confirmed him my friend, and gained the approbation of General Amherst. When the expedition to Canada was determined upon General Wolfe got his Majesty's permission to name me his Adjutant-General. Upon this occasion I only obtained the rank of Major in America and Captain in the army; my being still a subaltern was the reason assigned for such moderate honours. Thus my misfortune was imputed to me as a fault, and though thought worthy of that high employment, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel (so necessary to add weight to it) was refused, although generally given in like cases, and in some instances to younger officers.

"My conduct in that station was so highly approved of by the general that when the success of the campaign seemed doubtful he regretted his want of power to serve me; and only wished with impatience for an opportunity to make me the messenger of agreeable news. This last honour the battle of Quebec deprived me of. After the defeat of his Majesty's enemies the trophies I can boast only indicate how much I suffered; my zealous and sole advocate killed, my left eye rendered useless, and the ball still in my head.

"The presumption in appealing to you I hope will be pardoned, when I affirm that I am almost utterly unknown to the Secretary at War.* Besides, Sir, I confess it would be the most flattering circumstance of my life to owe my preferment to that minister who honoured my late general with so important a command, and which I had the pleasure of seeing executed with satisfaction to my King and country.

"I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, Sir, your most devoted humble servant,

"ISAAC BARRÉ."†

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* Lord Barrington; who was afterwards violently assailed by Junius.

† *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 41.

This unusual mode of application for military promotion was probably adopted by the writer, in the hope that the Minister, in his conferences with Wolfe before the sailing of the expedition, had become acquainted not only with the name of Barré but also with the General's opinion of his merits; and that he might thereby have been disposed to listen favourably to his appeal. His hopes were, however, fruitless, the reply being merely, with true official reserve, that " senior officers would be injured by his promotion."

If there be not any remarkable literary ability evinced in this letter to Mr. Pitt it is at least a clear and emphatic statement of military claims ; and is evidently the production of an earnest and vigorous mind. At the date of this appeal Wolfe's army was merged in that of Amherst. Unaided either by Monckton, or Murray, Barré was left to the kindness of General (Sir Jeffery) Amherst, under whose personal observation he had previously been at Louisbourg, and his new patron soon had an opportunity of rendering him an important service.

On the 8th of September, 1760, the surrender of Montreal completed the subjection of Canada, and Amherst appointed Barré to convey the despatches announcing that event to the English Minister. Accompanied by Captain Deane, on the part of the Navy, he arrived in London on the 5th of October in that year.

In the life of our ambitious but mortified and hitherto neglected young officer, this is a memorable period, in reference to an anonymous but important publication which may be reasonably attributed to the writer of the Letter to Mr. Pitt. Between the months of June and October in the same year, 1760, an anonymous pamphlet was printed and published in London, severely impeaching and satirising the conduct of General Townshend as commander of the Quebec expedition after the death of Wolfe.

This publication was entitled " A Letter to an Honourable Brigadier General, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Canada." It excited much attention at the time of its appearance and even led to a hostile meeting between Townshend and the Earl of

Albemarle, the former of whom suspected that the latter had instigated or employed an anonymous assailant thus to traduce and vilify him. The belligerent parties were arrested at the place of meeting before the intended duel took place. This was on the 4th of November, 1760; but the pamphlet must have been printed some time before; for on the 5th of the preceding month, being the very day of Major Barré's arrival in London, "A Refutation of the Letter to an Honourable Brigadier General, &c., By an Officer," was published.

The latter pamphlet possesses no literary merit; but in the language, style, and sentiments of the anonymous Letter to General Townshend, there is a most remarkable and exttaordinary coincidence with the "Letters of Junius." So striking indeed is the resemblance, not only in particular phrases and expressions and in isolated passages, but in the style, diction, energy, spirit and character of the entire composition that there can scarcely be a doubt the writer was the author not only of the letters which, from 1767 to 1769, appeared in the "Public Advertiser" under the signatures of Atticus, Lucius, Brutus, Poplicola, &c., but also of the unparalleled effusions which were published in the same journal from 1769 to 1772, with the memorable signature of Junius.*

This resemblance was pointed out in 1817 by a person who had only read some extracts from the "Letter to a Brigadier General," which had appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine." Under the name of "Phil-Urbanus," he expressed his "strong opinion," in the same periodical, that "if the author of the Letter to a Brigadier General should be known, it would be no difficult task to set at rest the inquiry after the author of the Letters of Junius." The hint thus given does not appear to have been followed up; but, in 1840, the pamphlet now referred to happened to come under the notice of Mr. N. W. Simons, of the Library of the British Museum. Not knowing that "Phil-Urbanus" had taken the same

* See a discriminating Review of this pamphlet in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1841.

view three and twenty years before, Mr. Simons, on reading this obscure and forgotten work, was immediately and forcibly impressed with its analogy in style to the Letters of Junius, and its consequent importance, as affording a possible clue to the discovery of their author. That gentleman was himself well qualified by previous study of the writings of Junius to form an opinion on this subject; and that opinion being confirmed by several friends of literary eminence, he was induced, in the year 1841, to reprint the "Letter," as well as the "Refutation" of it, appending to them some valuable original remarks, tending firstly to prove that the "Letter" was really from the pen of Junius, and secondly to refute the opinion that Sir Philip Francis was the author of the letters with that signature.*

In addition to Mr. Simons and "Phil-Urbanus," it is stated by another writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (July, 1843) that an individual, then recently deceased, who had only seen the extracts from the pamphlet of 1760, had not only come to the same conclusion of its identity of authorship with the "Letters of Junius," but, previously to the illness which terminated his life, was preparing for the press a statement of his opinion. Thus, three several parties, entirely unconnected with each other, after reading either the whole "Letter," or extracts from it, had arrived at the conviction that it was an early production of the great and unknown English political satirist, and Mr. Simons's reprint has since induced many other persons to adopt the same opinion.

Before proceeding to show the probability that *Isaac Barré* was the author of the satirical "Letter" to Brigadier General Townshend it may be desirable by a few extracts to illustrate its identity in style, thought, and expression, with the Letters of Junius. This remarkable and ironical epistle impeaches, in the bitterest terms, the conduct of Townshend, in Canada; and episodically, that of Lord George Sackville, at Minden: and it must not be

* Mr. Simons's reprints and remarks appeared in the shape of a 16 mo. pamphlet, published by Pickering, London.

forgotten that, seven years afterwards, Junius, under various signatures, also satirised both those officers.

The anonymous pamphleteer thus addresses Brigadier General Townshend :—

"Independent of fortune and her favours, you have made the most distinguished honour of the present war in a peculiar manner your own. The Goddess of blindness and caprice had certainly no share in the capitulation of Quebec. Ardent in the pursuit of glory, and the applause of your country, you generously violated the rules of war, and risked the resentment of your superior officer [General Monckton]; you signed the articles of capitulation without his knowledge, and, anxious for the preservation of your conquest, you appointed the staff of the garrison without even asking his consent. He might indeed suspect the friendship you had long professed for him, but with the spirit of an old Roman, the love of our country *omnes omnium caritates complectitur*. He might have ordered you into arrest for such an outrage to his authority. He was not insensible of the indignity; but *you asked his pardon*, and languishing under his wounds he accepted your submission. Thus you carried your point. You received into your protection the capital of an Empire larger than half the Roman conquests; and, though you had formally entered your protest against attacking the place, you alone enjoyed the honours of its being taken."——"Your appetite for glory being now fully satisfied, you descended from the Heights of Abraham, and, as the better part of valour is discretion, according to Falstaff's wisdom, you discreetly left your regiment, whose paltry emoluments you had dearly purchased by your one campaign, and prudently quitted a scene where danger would probably be too busy. You sagaciously foresaw that the French would endeavour to recover their capital, and you were convinced that the place was not defensible."—

"I know that our ingenious moderns have been reproached with plundering the shrines of antiquity, and ransacking the virtues of the dead, to erect a lying monument of fame to the living. I shall not be apprehensive of this reproach when I assert that the noblest praise ever given to Cæsar, *that of writing with the same spirit with which he fought*, is equally due to you for the letter you wrote from Quebec to the Secretary of State. Some malignant spirits, indeed, were offended at your not having paid one civil compliment to the memory of General Wolfe, or used one kind expression of esteem or affection with regard to his person. Surely, some people are never to be satisfied."——"They must have known very little of the expedition to Quebec who expected that you would bear testimony to the conduct of a General whose plan of operations you had the honour, both in public and private, to

oppose; and against whose last desperate attempt you protested in form. True, this attempt succeeded; but not the most fortunate success should alter an opinion founded, like yours, in calm, deliberate judgment. You were not prejudiced in favour of this attack by having any share in the execution. You were at a safe and honourable distance from the scene of action, when you were *told that you commanded.*"——"We are told in a letter from Quebec that the *Highlanders took to their broadswords* (no doubt a very military phrase) and drove part into the town, part to the works at their bridge on the river St. Charles. Yet, Sir, you are conscious that the Highlanders were not so forward in the pursuit at Quebec as the 47th regiment, which would probably have entered the town with the flying enemy, if not restrained by your *Sackvillian* prudence. For what purpose, therefore, this tremendous taking to their broadswords, when a whole regiment was between them and the enemy?" ——"As you appear, Sir, to have made the hero of Minden [Lord George Sackville] your model of all military virtue, I would encourage you to emulate his great example, by marking a sort of natural resemblance of character between you. A resemblance far stronger than any in your own collection of portraits, though his Royal Highness [the Duke of Cumberland] himself, your great *chef d'œuvre*, be there. If, for instance, his lordship prudently refused to advance with the cavalry at Minden, you certainly, with equal prudence, quelled the spirits of the troops at Quebec. If my Lord excels in that well-bred species of wit known by the name of *sneering*, are not you equally excellent In that good-natured species of painting called caricature, the amusement of your idle hours? Did Lord George imagine that the reputation of being well with the great minister would bear him, without ever endangering his person, to the highest pinnacle of military glory; and are not you, Sir, at this moment, abusing your interest with that minister, by leaving, and being so many months absent from your command at Quebec? If you think you have deserved or gained any honour there, do you imagine your walking at the head of your Militia will maintain it? Are you not paid for your command of a regiment in America; and is not some officer now doing, at the risk of his life, that duty for which you are paid? Is not yours the single instance of this kind of desertion in the service?"

Enough has been quoted to show the animus of this attack on General Townshend, as well as the spirit and energy of the writer and the analogy of his style to that of Junius. If, as compared with the later satires by the same author an occasional feebleness of expression be observed, it is only reasonable to suppose that time and practice in literary composition may have led to greater proficiency in the man-

agement of that powerful instrument—the pen. The preceding passages, and still more a perusal of the "Letter" as a whole, cannot fail to show its close resemblance both in style and sentiment, to the writings of the future Junius.

That the pamphlet now referred to is the production of Barré, there can scarcely be a doubt, from his attachment to the late lamented Commander who had suffered so much from the hostility of Townshend, and from his personal character and talents.

With reference to the Quebec expedition, Horace Walpole, the witty and animated historian of the period, (whose comments on the acts and motives of his contemporaries are always valuable and interesting,) makes the following observations.

> "1759. Feb. 5. The expedition called to Quebec departs on Tuesday next under Wolfe and George Townshend, who has again thrust himself into the service, and, as far as wrong-headedness can go, very proper for a Hero. Wolfe, who was no friend of Mr. Conway last year [Conway was second in command in the Rochefort expedition] and for whom I consequently have no affection, has great merit, spirit, and alacrity, and shone extremely at Louisbourg."
>
> "1759. October 30. I have not even seen the conqueror's mother (Lady Townshend), though I hear she has covered herself with more laurel-leaves than were heaped on the Children in the Wood."*

These passages are from Walpole's familiar letters. In his digested "Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second," he writes as follows:—

> "To Wolfe was associated George Townshend; whose proud, sullen, and contemptuous temper never suffered him to wait for thwarting his superiors till risen on a level with them. He saw every thing in an ill-natured and ridiculous light. The haughtiness of the Duke of Cumberland, the talents or blemishes of Fox, the ardour of Wolfe, the virtue of Conway, were all alike the objects of Townshend's spleen and contradiction: but Wolfe was noted never to waive his pre-eminence from fear of caricatures. He felt his supe-

* *Walpole's Private Correspondence* (1820), vol. ii., p. 121.

rior knowledge and *power*, and had spirit enough to make Townshend at least sensible of the latter; a confidence in himself that was fortunate for the country."—(vol. ii., p. 345.)

"Wolfe himself was languishing with the stone, and a complication of disorders which fatigue and disappointment had brought upon him. Townshend and other officers had crossed him in his plans, but he had not yielded. Himself had been one of the warmest censurers of the miscarried expedition to Rochefort, and he had received this high command upon the assurance that no difficulties nor dangers should discourage him. His army wasted before his eyes by sickness; the season advanced fast which must put an end to his attempts, he had no choice remaining but in variety of difficulties."—(vol. ii., p. 384.)

"In five days the town capitulated. Wolfe dead, and Monckton disabled, George Townshend signed the articles. He, and his friends for him, even attempted to ravish the honours of the conquest from Wolfe. Townshend's first letter said nothing in praise of him. In one to the Speaker of the House he went so far as to assume the glory of the last effort. His words were—'*We* determined on the 13th September to do what we *ought to have done* in the beginning; but in military operations it is *never too late* to reform.'—In other more private despatches Townshend was still more explicit. These he ordered to be shown to the Princess of Wales, the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pitt. From the first he received great assurances of countenance; but the passion of gratitude, with which the nation was transported towards Wolfe's memory, overbore all attempts to lessen his fame. It was not by surviving him that it could be surpassed."—(vol. ii., p. 387.)

"Lord Buckingham moved the address in the Lords, and flung in much panegyric on George Townshend, whose friends were now reduced *to compose and publish in his name* a letter in praise of Wolfe."—(vol. ii., p. 391.)

"Pitt expatiated more largely on Townshend, who he said had gone unrequested whither the invited never came. This was far from being strictly fact. Townshend had gone unwillingly; sent even, it was believed, by Mr. Pitt, who wished to get rid of so troublesome a man."—(vol. ii., p. 394.)

Captain Knox, in his "Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, in the years 1757-60," (2 vols., 4to., 1769) endeavours to remove the impression that there had been any dissension between the officers of the army.—

"This harmony and concord," he observes, "particularly among our General Officers, shone conspicuously in the successful event; notwithstanding many *groundless* insinuations and reports to the contrary; and if the

reader is desirous to be still further ascertained of it, let him pay proper attention to Mr. Wolfe's incomparable letter of the 2nd instant, [already referred to] and to *the orders which were published after his death by his successors*, which must sufficiently obviate every illiberal suggestion, wickedly circulated by unthinking or designing men, for a motive of endeavouring to appear of consequence."

Captain Knox, it is evident from his own work, was of the Townshend party; and, by his very sedulous endeavours to hush the rumours of dissent, he becomes in fact an unwilling witness to the existence of the feeling which is so emphatically asserted by Walpole, and even more fully explained by the writer of the "Letter to a Brigadier-General."

Certainly the reports and orders issued by Townshend and Monckton after the battle, and confidently appealed to by Captain Knox, tend strongly to confirm the contrary opinion to that avowed by him.* In the terms of capitulation, arranged by Townshend on the 18th of September, 1759, there was no reference to his commander, General Monckton. His report of the event on the 20th displayed no lack of pretension as to his own important share in the proceedings, whilst it conveyed but a scanty amount of praise to Wolfe, and maintained a total silence as to Barré and other officers of the staff. Again, in several General Orders issued within a few days afterwards, there is the same assumption of superiority. "It is *the General's* order";—"*the General* assures the army," &c.; without specifying Monckton by name. And in his final report dated the 22nd, he speaks of himself with a similar degree of arrogance; "*I* sent back the flag of truce," and then speaks of "the terms *we* granted."

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* A laudatory Memoir of Townshend appeared in the fourth volume of "Public Characters" in 1802,—some years previous to the publication of Walpole's Letters, and his History; and there, as well as in other biographical notices, we are told that the Brigadier-General differed from, and opposed Wolfe on many important questions.

On the 23rd of September, ten days after the battle, Monckton resumed the command, by a General Order commencing as follows: "General Monckton desires that all the officers in the Army will please to wear mourning for General Wolfe, their late Commander-in-Chief, such as is usual in the field;" a sufficient proof, by comparison with Townshend's previous Orders, of the difference of their feelings on the subject.

From the preceding facts it is obvious that there were jealousies and party animosities in the army: and who would be so likely to espouse the cause of Wolfe, whilst suffering annoyance from a troublesome subordinate, as Major Barré? who, of all the officers present, had been most nearly connected officially with the deceased General, and who was moreover bound to him by every feeling of gratitude and honour. No person would be so likely to revenge the insult to the memory of his patron, as an officer whose hopes of advancement had been defeated by the selection of another to convey the despatches, and who, moreover, complained afterwards to Mr. Pitt, of the "neglect he had met with" since the battle of Quebec.

If any other motive be required for assigning the authorship of the "Letter to a Brigadier-General" to Major Barré, it may be reasonably supposed that his application to Mr. Pitt was referred by that minister to Townshend, who was then the only representative in England of the Quebec army; and that the cold and haughty negative which it received from the minister was influenced by some unfavourable report from that General. There was constant communication between England and America at that time; the season was favourable for speedy voyages;* and there was time for Barré after the receipt of Pitt's reply, to write a short pamphlet such as that now referred to, and also for its transmission to England, so as to be printed and published early in September.

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* Wolfe's last letter to Mr. Pitt, dated the 9th of September, 1759 (at a less favourable season), arrived in London on the 14th of October.

Mr. Simons, in his remarks upon the pamphlet, observes that, "it was written, if not by a soldier, at all events by a person well skilled in military affairs. In style, phraseology, and matter; in sarcastic irony, bold interrogation, stinging sarcasm, and severe personalities; in frequent taunts of 'treachery,' 'desertion,' and 'cowardice;' it so closely resembles the compositions of Junius, that the identity of their authorship scarcely admits of a doubt."

The "Refutation" of this letter, stated on its title-page to be the production of an Officer, requires no particular notice, unless the following passage may be regarded as corroborating the opinion that Major Barré was the author of the "Letter;"—

"Where has this Pamphleteer been to find himself under the necessity of quoting this letter? *He must not have been in England, surely;* or must not have read the public papers, in which a little time after the news of the taking of Quebec, appeared the annexed funeral eulogium (a nobler or a more generous has never been penned), taken from a letter written by G——l T——d to a friend in London;—'I am not ashamed to own to you that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe. Our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honour. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the general joy. Our best consolation is that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned length of life.'"

The reader will remember Walpole's assertion that Townshend's friends "composed and published *in his name*" a letter in praise of Wolfe; no doubt it was the one which is here cited: but the above paragraph is merely referred to on account of the writer's inference that Townshend's assailant was absent from England.

Under these circumstances, there seems every reason to believe that BARRÉ wrote the "Letter to a Brigadier-General," and if that conclusion be adopted, it necessarily follows that he was JUNIUS.*

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* Sir David Brewster has been engaged for some years past in investigating the authorship of Junius, and is inclined to ascribe it to Lachlan Maclean, whom he also regards as the author of the Quebec pamphlet. Maclean was certainly with the army in America, but there is no proof and

In resuming the narrative of Barré's proceedings from the time of his return to England (5th of October, 1760) with the Montreal despatches, it will be obvious that he then obtained ready access, and, at least, a courteous reception from the powerful statesman who ruled the destinies of England. He had, in fact, through the patronage of Sir Jeffery Amherst, an indisputable claim to that promotion which he had before solicited in vain. In a letter which he addressed to Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of October, (three days after his return), he expressed himself as "bound in the highest gratitude to him for the attention he had received;" and, although such language appears strong, yet, considering the relative position of the parties, it may be considered only as a compliment. The death of George the Second in the same month, and, perhaps still more, the dilatoriness of Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War (which furnished afterwards a theme for Junius), combined probably, with other causes, to defer his promotion till the 29th of January, 1761, when he obtained his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel.

It was about this time that Barré formed an intimate connection with the Earl of Shelburne, which continued to the close of his life; and as this intimacy forms an important element in the present inquiry, it will be necessary to trace its rise and progress as clearly as can now be done; although it unfortunately happens that we are not able to ascertain its origin, or the reasons for that close political and personal union between the nobleman and the military officer at that time and afterwards which produced so great an effect in the state of parties and of the nation.

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very little probability of his having written the anonymous pamphlet. Sir David has frankly and fully communicated to me his views upon the subject, and although admiring the zeal and ingenuity with which he has pursued his inquiries, I am compelled to say that I cannot agree in his conclusions. The late George Chalmers, in an appendix to his "Supplemental Apology to the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers," has examined and confuted Maclean's pretensions to the authorship of the mystic Letters.

CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM, EARL OF SHELBURNE, THE FRIEND AND PATRON OF BARRÉ—1761. PLACES THE LATTER IN PARLIAMENT—BARRÉ ATTACKS MR. PITT—1763. LORD SHELBURNE IN OFFICE WITH GEORGE GRENVILLE—BARRÉ ATTAINS HIGH RANK AND DISTINCTION—SUPPORTS THE MINISTRY—UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY JUNIUS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE GRENVILLE FAMILY—LORD SHELBURNE RESIGNS—BARRÉ JOINS THE OPPOSITION—WILKES AND THE "NORTH BRITON," No. 45—BARRÉ'S VOTE AGAINST GENERAL WARRANTS—DEPRIVED OF HIS MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD—1765. HIS SPEECH ON THE AMERICAN STAMP ACT—1766. ACCEPTS OFFICE UNDER PITT WITH LORD SHELBURNE—1767. JUNIUS BEGINS TO WRITE IN THE "PUBLIC ADVERTISER"—1768. PITT, SHELBURNE, AND BARRÉ RESIGN OFFICE—1769-1772. THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS CONTINUED—THE PUBLIC CONDUCT AND SPEECHES OF BARRÉ COMPARED WITH THE OPINIONS AND LANGUAGE OF JUNIUS.

WILLIAM, second EARL OF SHELBURNE, was born in 1737, (eleven years after Barré). He had served in the army at Campen and at Minden; and returning to England at the close of the campaign, he was, on the 4th of December, 1760, appointed aid-de-camp to the young king, George the Third, with the rank of Colonel. His father being then alive, he sat in the House of Commons as Colonel Fitzmaurice, Member of Parliament for the borough of High, or Chipping Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, his family being proprietors of a great part of that parish.

In the month of May, 1761, John, first Earl of Shelburne, died, and Colonel Fitzmaurice, as his eldest son and heir, took his seat in the House of Lords. A few months later Mr. Pitt resigned; and the

young Lord Shelburne, who had been graciously received by the King, was readily induced to adopt the politics of the Court, and to join the party of the Earl of Bute.

It appears to have been owing to Lord Shelburne's influence that on the 17th of October Lieutenant-Colonel Barré received a "letter of service" to raise as "Colonel proprietor" the 106th regiment of foot. Parliament assembled in November, and on the 28th of that month a new writ was issued for Chipping Wycombe, under which Lieutenant-Colonel Barré was elected in the place of his new patron, the Earl of Shelburne. It might be more accurate to say that he was nominated to sit in Parliament by his lordship, whose family had long controlled the representation of the Borough.

This is the first known event of importance in the history of Lord Shelburne's long friendship for and connection with Colonel Barré. Beyond the fact that they were both born in Ireland, and both officers in the army, the origin of their connection may possibly be found in the circumstances mentioned in the "Political Magazine" for 1776. In a notice of Colonel Barré, in that periodical, which is evidently written by one well acquainted with him, it is said, that he was a practised and skilful debater at the Court of Proprietors of the East India House; and that Lord Shelburne, who took much interest in that important branch of government affairs, hearing of his abilities, selected him as his nominee in Parliament, "purposely" to encounter Mr. Pitt, who was then in opposition to the ministry which his Lordship had engaged to support. There is every probability that this statement is correct. Barré was certainly a proprietor in the East India Company, and his attendance at their meetings in the year which had elapsed after his return from America, had doubtless sufficed to bring him into notice as an able and ready debater. A proprietorship in that distinguished company was then attainable at the price of 500*l.*; and as Barré himself had risen rapidly in his profession between 1759 and 1761, whilst his father had advanced himself to opulence by trade, that sum of money was small, in proportion to the prospects which its

investment in the Company necessarily afforded to the young and ambitious aspirant for fame. When Barré acquired celebrity in the House of Commons, he became the champion of Sullivan and other East India Directors; and Walpole says that it was even contemplated to send him to India instead of Lord Clive.*

Whatever may have been the reasons which induced the Earl of Shelburne to place the Colonel in Parliament, the immediate result justifies the notion that one of his objects was a direct and violent opposition to the views of Mr. Pitt; for within two days after taking his seat, Barré, in a speech in the House of Commons, vehemently abused that illustrious individual. The Earl of Bath, in a letter to George Colman, the elder, dated the 18th of December, 1761, thus alludes to his language on the occasion referred to.

> "You have no doubt heard of the rude and foul-mouthed attack made on Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, by one Colonel Barré, whom all the world blames most extremely; so that I suppose the gentleman will be muzzled for the future."†

The speech in question has not been fully reported; but it evidently excited considerable attention, as we find it referred to in another private letter, dated 29th January, 1762, written by Sir Andrew Mitchell.

> "Would you know a little of Parliament, and particularly with regard to Mr. Pitt? I must then tell you that Colonel Barré, a soldier of fortune, a young man, born in Dublin, of parents of a mean condition, his father and mother from France, and established in a little grocer's shop, by the patronage of the Bishop of Clogher, a child of whom the mother nursed (these particulars I have from Mr. Millar upon his own certain knowledge): this young man (a man of address and parts), found out, pushed, and brought into Parliament by Lord Shelburne, had not sat two days in the House before he attacked Mr. Pitt. I shall give you a specimen of his philippics. Talking of the manner of Mr. Pitt's speaking, he said, 'There he would stand, turning up his eyes to Heaven, that

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* "Letters to the Earl of Hertford," p. 112.

† Peake's "Memoirs of the Colman Family," vol. i.

witnessed his perjuries; and laying his hand in a solemn manner upon the table; that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country.' Would you think that Mr. Pitt would hear this and be silent? or would you think that the House would suffer a respectable member to be thus treated? Yet so it is."*

This opening of Colonel Barré's political life is in itself very remarkable. Pitt had even then been great and powerful in office, and was generally more than respected, for he was admired even by many of the opposition, and it required the boldness of a Junius to break through the difficulties which would have paralysed ordinary opponents. It will be shown hereafter that vehemence was always a characteristic of the Colonel's eloquence; and it is said that he avowed a personal motive for this attack, on the ground of Pitt's previous rejection of his appeal from New York, and the subsequent delay of three months in preparing his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel.

In the "Edinburgh Review" of October, 1839, are some remarks on this occurrence, in which the writer speaks of the "uniform attachment of Lord Shelburne to that great man (the Earl of Chatham), both in public and private life; with the most unvarying steadiness of which either friendship or faction is capable:" but the critic has overlooked the fact that such friendship had not commenced in 1761, at which time, on the contrary, the parties were unquestionably opposed to each other. Proceeding upon this erroneous assumption the reviewer infers that Lord Shelburne "ought to have ousted Barré from the seat to which he had elevated him, on the first opportunity, as the consequence of this brutal attack." But he qualifies his remarks by adding, "it deserves to be considered that we are unacquainted with what passed with him in private after he

* *Chatham Correspondence*, quoting the original MS. in the *Mitchell Papers*, British Museum. Another interesting notice of this singular affair will be found in the addenda to *Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates in Parliament*, vol. i. See also *Hansard's Parliamentary History*, May, 1762, where it will be seen that Barré renewed the attack soon afterwards.

had committed the outrage. The political adventurer may have shown a contrition as abject as his offence had been shameless; and the great man who was the object of his abuse may have been gained over to make his intercession, and prevent his ruin." The conjecture, however, is altogether groundless; Barré's abuse of Mr. Pitt was repeated; he continued to hold his seat for Wycombe; and both he and Lord Shelburne remained supporters of the ministry of Lord Bute, which Pitt opposed.

In that ministry, the Right Honourable George Grenville (the only politician to whom Junius manifested consistent attachment) had been some time Treasurer of the Navy; but in May, 1762, he accepted the more responsible office of Secretary of State.

In the debates on the articles of Peace, in December, 1762, both Lord Shelburne and Barré zealously advocated the measures of the government, which were carried in spite of the opposition of Pitt; and in the general reduction of the army which ensued, Barré's regiment was disbanded. On the 18th of March, 1763, he was compensated for that loss by the distinguished and lucrative appointment of Adjutant-General to the British Forces.

The Earl of Bute being unable to withstand the popular prejudice against him, resigned office in April; and George Grenville becoming Premier, introduced the Earl of Shelburne to office as First Lord of the Board of Trade. Barré was very soon amply rewarded for his support of the ministry, being on the 14th of May appointed Governor of Stirling Castle, in the room of Lord Loudon, deceased: and thus obtained both honorary and lucrative rewards for political services to the party he espoused, and for the losses inflicted by his opponents.* Four years before, he had described himself as a friend-

* Connected with these persons and events, it is of importance to notice the circumstance of Junius's constant advocacy or approval of Mr. Grenville; and it can hardly be doubted that the unpublished letters by Junius, said to be secretly preserved at Stowe, in a "mysterious box with three seals," would afford an explanation of this political friendship. The existence of certain letters from Junius to Mr. Grenville has been so fully acknowledged

less subaltern of eleven years' standing; he was now an influential member of the legislature, and held one of the most important and honourable appointments in the army; whilst his emoluments, as he himself stated on a future occasion, were not worth less than 4000*l.* a year. There is every probability that he was personally serviceable to the Prime Minister, from his knowledge of America; the latter having to complete the arrangements for peace, and to provide for the expenses of the war. These facts are important, in reference to the eulogy with which Junius always mentions Mr. Grenville.

The Earl of Shelburne, during a long political career, was three times a member of as many different administrations; but he was never destined to retain office for any length of time. On this, his first entrance into official life, his tenure only lasted five months. The cause of his resignation was never truly stated until the publication of the *Chatham Correspondence** (1838), which work affords many valuable illustrations of the political history of the period. From that it appears that the Earl of Bute, who retained his influence over the King, finding the Grenville ministry insecure, had endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Pitt to form a new administration, and that the latter had two interviews with His Majesty on the subject. Lord Shelburne was consulted on the occasion, and in a

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by the late Mr. Thomas Grenville, the present Lord Nugent, and other members of the family, that there cannot be a doubt that such documents are preserved in that splendid mansion; although the number of them and the nature of their contents, has been often mentioned with various circumstances of exaggeration and improbability. It is not easy to conjecture the reason of their being still withheld from the public. I respectfully applied to the present Duke of Buckingham for an examination of them, or for any account which his Grace might think right to impart, but was repulsed with a laconic refusal.

* Walpole's conjecture is shrewd and characteristic. "Many reasons are given, but the only one that people choose to take is, that, thinking Mr. Pitt must be minister, and finding himself tolerably obnoxious to him, he (Lord Shelburne) is seeking to make his peace at any rate."—("Letters to Sir Horace Mann," 2nd series, vol. i., p. 164.)

contemporary private letter, it is asserted that "the convention between Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt was long carrying on, with the utmost secrecy, under the mediation of Lord Shelburne, a young nobleman who is said to be possessed of great abilities, and to have studied the system of ministerial craft with great assiduity, under that able master, Mr. Fox."* His Lordship, together with Barré, had hitherto acted against Mr. Pitt, but foreseeing a change in the political horizon, they were prepared to coalesce with one whom they had previously opposed. The negociation, however, failed; but Lord Shelburne wrote to Mr. Pitt "to thank him for the honour of an obliging communication, and to felicitate him on a negociation being at an end, which carried through the whole of it such shocking marks of insincerity."† The resignation of his office as First Lord of the Board of Trade took place only two days after this letter, and was evidently owing to his sympathy for, and co-operation with Mr. Pitt. It was announced to the latter by Mr. Calcraft in the following terms: "Lord Shelburne having resigned his situation at the Board of Trade, I think it right to inform you thereof without delay. It is with the utmost satisfaction I can add Lord Shelburne feels with very great concern what happened to you in the end of the late transaction."†

On the retirement of Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Bedford joined the administration, Mr. Grenville continuing to be Prime Minister; but Colonel Barré soon voted in opposition to the government; no doubt participating in the feelings of Lord Shelburne. By this measure he incurred the severe penalty of dismissal from the valuable and important military offices which he held; being consequently left to the resources of his half-pay, as Lieutenant-Colonel. This extraordinary act of punishment for a vote given in a legislative

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* The Mr. Fox here referred to was the first Lord Holland; the father of the famous Charles James Fox.

† *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii.

capacity was sufficient to justify and provoke the severe animadversions of Junius upon those who inflicted it. In order to explain the history of the Letters of that famed satirist, it is necessary to notice briefly this vote of Colonel Barré, and the consequences which it appears to have produced.

When the Earl of Bute retired from the ostensible management of public affairs, Wilkes, in his noted No. 45 of the "North Briton," severely criticised "as the speech of the minister," the King's address to Parliament on closing the session. He asserted, with a degree of boldness till then unparalleled, that the Scotch minister still, in effect, continued to rule public affairs. He indignantly declared, that "every preferment given by the crown will be found still to be obtained by *his* enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the Scottish faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state, while he governs, and can make the tools of his power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat as he intends, can only mean that personal indemnity which I hope guilt will never find from an injured nation. In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the speech, *that spirit of concord, and that obedience to law, which is essential to good order.*"*

Legal proceedings were immediately taken against the author of No. 45, who was, in fact, in custody for a few days; but he was vigorous in his own defence and brought actions against those who had arrested him. The struggle was carried on with much spirit on both sides until the meeting of Parliament, on the 15th of November, 1763; by which time, as already intimated, Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, formerly supporters of Mr. Grenville, had joined the ranks of the opposition.

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* The *North Briton*, and "No. 45" especially, soon became a scarce publication; and is now rarely to be met with. The famous libel which led to such important results in Parliament and elsewhere is reprinted in *Hansard's Parliamentary History*, vol. xv.

The alleged libel was submitted to the House of Commons on the first day of its assembling, in a message from the King, which was delivered by Mr. Grenville. The house debated nearly all night, and after a division, in which the opposition numbered 111, and the supporters of government 273, the "North Briton" was declared to be a libel. Wilkes being wounded the next day in a duel arising out of the debate, the further consideration of the subject was deferred for a few days. On the 23rd and 24th of November, it was again warmly discussed; the numbers in the division on the first of those days, were 243 to 166; but on the latter, notwithstanding a long speech from Mr. Pitt, who was obliged to be supported in the house, on account of a severe fit of the gout, the minority receded to 133; whilst the majority (258 in number) passed a resolution, establishing the principle that the privilege of Parliament which Wilkes enjoyed, did not extend to the printing and publication of libels. After an unequal contest in the House of Lords, the latter body concurred with the Commons, and on the 3rd of December, 1763, "No. 45" of the "North Briton" was burnt by the hangman, though not without opposition on the part of the populace.

The debates in Parliament at this crisis, are very imperfectly reported; only the speeches of a few distinguished statesmen being preserved; nor are there any lists of those members who voted in the respective majorities and minorities, already referred to. It is however, certain that Colonel Barré, although he did not *speak* upon the questions before the house with reference to the alleged libel, *voted* against the government on one, and probably on each of the divisions. Lord Shelburne likewise opposed the ministry, and both his Lordship and the Colonel were promptly visited with marks of royal and ministerial displeasure.

On the 7th of December, 1763,* Barré was superseded in his appointments of Adjutant-General and Governor of Stirling Castle,

* Such is the date given in the books of the War Office.

and his noble friend was, on the same day, deprived of his post as aide-de-camp to the King. The comments of Walpole on this remarkable proceeding are interesting, and they show that other officers besides Barré had taken a similar course, and been threatened with similar punishment. Writing to Lord Hertford on the 9th of December, Walpole says :—

> "For the measure of turning out the *officers in general* who oppose, it has been much pressed, and, what is still sillier, openly threatened by one set; but they dare not do it, and, having notified it without effect, are ridiculed by the whole town, as well as by the persons threatened—particularly by Lord Albemarle, who has treated their menaces with the utmost contempt and spirit. This mighty storm has vented itself on Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, who were *yesterday* turned out—the first from aide-de-camp to the King, the latter from Adjutant-General and Governor of Stirling. My present expectation is an oration from Barré in honour of Mr. Pitt; for those are scenes that make the world so entertaining!" On the 16th Walpole wrote thus to the same nobleman:—"One of the latest acts of the ministry will not please my Lady Hertford: they have turned out her brother, Colonel Fitzroy. I must do Lord Halifax and Mr. Grenville the justice to say that these violences are not imputed to them. It is certain that the former was the warmest opposer of the measure for breaking the officers; and Mr. Grenville's friends take every opportunity of throwing the blame on the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich."*

To Sir Horace Mann, the same lively writer expressed himself more briefly on the 12th. "The famous Lord Shelburne, and the no less famous Colonel Barré—I don't know whether their fame has reached you—are turned out for joining the opposition."†

Wilkes continued to suffer from his wounds, and went to Paris. The House of Commons adjourned from the 16th of December to the 19th of January, 1764, when they again met, and immediately re-opened the discussion in Wilkes' absence. The result of a long and stormy debate, was a resolution expelling the offender from his

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* *Walpole's Letters to the Earl of Hertford* (4to., 1825), p. 29, 35.

† *Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann*, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 177.

seat in Parliament. Sir John Griffin voted in the majority, "but not without such an explanation of his situation as an officer, and such manly and spirited observations upon the late removals in the army, that he was much more an intimidating than an intimidated voice on the side of the ministry. He did not affirm that officers *had been* removed for their conduct in Parliament; but *if* they had, or *if* twenty more such removals were intended, the ministry would be still disappointed in their expectations."*

The minority, in fact, although defeated, were persevering in their efforts to annoy and perplex the government. The question, as affecting Wilkes personally, being for the time disposed of, they turned their attention to the illegality of "general warrants," such as that under which he had been arrested—a *general* warrant being one in which individuals were ordered to be arrested for offences, *without specifying the persons by name.*† Here, Barré again took the same course, and his name appears in a list of the minority of 220 who, on the 14th of February, 1764, voted against the Grenville administration on this important subject. The premier "denied the charge of menaces to officers:" upon which, says Walpole, "Colonel Barré rose, and this attended with a striking circumstance. Sir Edward Deering, one of our noisy fools, called out '*Mr.* Barré.' The latter seized the thought with admirable quickness, and said to the Speaker, who, in pointing to him, had called him *Colonel*, 'I beg your pardon, Sir, you have pointed to me by a title I have no right to;' and then made a very artful and pathetic speech on his own services and dismission; with nothing bad but an awkward attempt

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* Letter from the Right Honourable James Grenville to Lady Chatham, 20th of January, 1764.—*Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 275.

† The warrant against Wilkes was a command to apprehend "*the authors, printers, and publishers,*" of the offensive periodical.

towards an excuse to Mr. Pitt for his former behaviour."* Thus we find Barré associated with Mr. Pitt and his political followers, and Walpole's shrewd anticipations thereby realised.

Many years afterwards (1775), the Colonel adverted in Parliament to his dismissal in the following terms :—

> "As to himself he stood there it was true, a humble individual, brought into Parliament, with reluctance on his own part, by the hand of friendship. His Majesty had thought fit to call him into his service; but when the matter of General Warrants was discussed in the House, and his conscience directed him to oppose the measure, which he modestly did by a silent vote, a younger officer was put purposely over his head, as an intimation that his services were no further necessary: he retired without repining, on a scanty pittance, as he would have done to the most mortifying state, without a murmur."

It is unnecessary to dilate on the events of this particular era. It will be sufficient to state that after his dismissal Barré continued to oppose the politics of the Grenville administration, though without manifesting any personal hostility to that leader, individually, and by this line of conduct he became gradually more intimately associated with Mr. Pitt. That his ability as a debater increased with experience may easily be inferred. "Charles Townshend, (says Walpole) received a pretty heavy thump from Barré, who is the present Pitt, and the dread of all the vociferous Norths and Rigbys, on whose lungs depend so much of Mr. Grenville's power."† Again, we have an assurance of his independence, in reference to a particular question. "Barré spoke against Dowdeswell's proposal;

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* "Letters to the Earl of Hertford," p. 71. General Conway also voted in the minority, on this occasion, and, like Barré, was dismissed from his appointments. His case excited much public comment and disapprobation.

† Walpole's "Letters to the Earl of Hertford," p. 188. See also p. 200. Speaking of the Regency Bill, he says, "Barré, who will soon be our first orator, especially as *some* are afraid to dispute with him, attacked it admirably," (p. 215).

though not setting himself up to auction like Charles Townshend; nor friendly to the ministry; but temperately and sensibly."*

In 1765, Barré first distinguished himself in the Parliamentary Debates relating to the affairs of America. At the time referred to an injudicious attempt was made to raise a revenue from the British colonies in America, by means of stamp duties; but the measure led, in the first instance, to violent expressions of dissatisfaction on the part of the colonists, and their supporters at home, and subsequently to that long and disastrous war which resulted in the independence of America, and its final separation from the British dominions. This Stamp Act, upon its introduction by Mr. Grenville, early in the session of 1765, was rather popular than otherwise with the over-burthened people of England, though it excited a storm of indignation in the colonies. Burke declared that "no more than two or three gentlemen spoke against the Act, and that with great reserve and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of the bill, and the minority did not reach to more than thirty-nine or forty. In the House of Lords I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all. I am sure there was no protest."† But amongst the "two or three" speakers against the Bill was Colonel Barré, who, in reply to Mr. Charles Townshend, the most eloquent of its supporters, made the admirable and forcible appeal to the House,—in itself almost prophetic of the result,—which has been quoted in page 14. General Conway and Alderman Beckford were also amongst the few who denied the power of Parliament to tax the colonies. The Bill, however, became an enactment in the month of March, 1765.

From internal dissensions and other causes the Grenville ministry gave way to that of the Marquess of Rockingham in the summer of

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* Walpole's "Letters to the Earl of Hertford," p. 180.

† Cooke's "History of Party," vol. iii., p. 53.

1765. The latter administration was weak from the time of its formation, especially in subordinate adherents; and searching for such coadjutors, they introduced upon the stage of public life that highly gifted orator and statesman, Edmund Burke. Through the medium of General Conway, who became Secretary of State and leader of the House of Commons, an unsuccessful attempt was made to attach Colonel Barré to the Rockingham party. The following extracts will elucidate this negociation. Mr. Secretary Conway wrote as follows, on the 7th of November, 1765, to his brother, who held an appointment under the government in Ireland:—

> "Your opposition of nine is a pretty little opposition. I should be glad to compound with our opposers for six times that number; and on this head have an unpleasant article to tell you; which is, that Barré has refused: I have this day received his very civil, but direct excuse. He is pleased to say he knows very little of the present administration but myself, and has no knowledge of the *plans of government.* I know you'll think our affairs quite desperate after the chasm the poor Duke (of Cumberland) has made, and *this capital refusal.* Yet we don't at all think so."—Again;—"I believe I told you Barré refuses: that you'll dislike; and yet I think we much rather gain than lose ground on the whole." And on the 27th of December;—"A certain party keep aloof—I mean Lord Bute's friends—the two Townshends particularly. Lord Shelburne and Barré seem particularly fixed nowhere."*

It appears a similar endeavour was made to secure the co-operation of Lord Shelburne; who thus described the circumstance in a letter to Mr. Pitt (21st December, 1765):

> "What has passed in the House of Commons you will doubtless hear from better hands. I understand there has been a good deal of little debating there, on different things, without much effect, and not followed by any remarkable division. I had no idea that my conduct in the House of Lords could be remembered beyond the day; but the next day Lord Rockingham sent Sir Jeffery Amherst to Colonel Barré, and yesterday sent Mr. Dunning to Colonel Barré

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* "Changes of Administration and History of Parties;" an able series of papers in the *Companion to the Newspaper* (1835, p. 365.)

and me, with a great many flattering expressions, in regard to Tuesday; and in short, what I am almost ashamed to relate, that if I chose to make a part of the present system, he thought he could answer any opening would be made that I could wish, and that Colonel Barré should have rank in the army, or any thing else added to the vice-treasurership, *which had been offered him some time since*. My answer was very short, and very frank; that, independent of my connection, I was convinced, from my opinion of the state of *the court*, as well as the state of affairs everywhere, no system could be formed, durable and respectable, if Mr. Pitt could not be prevailed on to direct and head it." His Lordship adds, "I did not think it fit to suggest any thing, or to enter further into the matter. They persisted, however, in their application to Colonel Barré, who returned a still more explicit answer to the same purpose."*

On the meeting of Parliament, in the winter of 1765-66, the ministry proposed to repeal Mr. Grenville's Stamp Act; but they introduced a declaratory measure asserting the supreme authority of the mother country over the colonies; "thus abandoning the solid advantage, but clinging to the obnoxious principle,—shrinking themselves from the commission of injustice, but providing a ready excuse for any less scrupulous successors."†

Both of these measures were carried. The debates are not reported; but we are told that "Lord Shelburne, in the House of Lords, gave no direct opinion on the right of Parliament to tax America, but was understood rather to admit the right. He deprecated, however, the bringing of constitutional matters into debate without necessity, and contended that it would be much better to pass merely an act repealing the Stamp Duty, without any declaratory act."‡

The ministers, notwithstanding their success in legislation for America, were neither acceptable to the sovereign nor to the people; and after a dominion of only twelve months, they resigned, and an

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* *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 355.

† Cooke's "History of Party," vol. iii., p. 74.

‡ *Companion to the Newspaper*, 1835, p. 366.

appeal was made to Mr. Pitt, to form an administration. He was induced to emerge from his seclusion, and assume again the conduct of the ministry; but it was no easy task to combine the discordant elements into which political parties had become resolved. He himself went into the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Chatham, and the post of Lord Privy Seal. His first Lord of the Treasury was the Duke of Grafton; General Conway was continued as a Secretary of State, and the Earl of Shelburne was again taken into office in the same capacity;* his friend Colonel Barré receiving an appointment as one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, which post, as we have already seen, had been offered to him by the previous ministry. He was at the same time sworn of the privy council.† Burke afterwards described this cabinet as "a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; King's friends and Republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on."‡

Lord Chatham's ill health compelled him to retire from active employment in September, 1766, when the new ministry was hardly consolidated. He, however, for some time kept up a correspondence with his colleagues, particularly the Earl of Shelburne: but deprived of their leader, the ministry soon became divided into almost as

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* See his letter to Mr. Pitt accepting the appointment (July 20, 1766) in *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 451. Also a series of letters relating to the formation of this ministry in the same and in the subsequent volume.

† See Lord Chatham's letter to Barré, announcing the appointment (20th September, 1766) in *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 72.

‡ Prior's "Life of Burke," vol. i., p. 156.

many parties as there were men in it; each complaining of the others, and intriguing for his own advantage.

In this state of affairs a letter signed "Poplicola" appeared in the *Public Advertiser** of the 28th of April, 1767, containing a most virulent attack upon the Earl of Chatham. This is, in point of date, the earliest epistle which Mr. George Woodfall, as proprietor, and Mr. Mason Good, as editor of the "Letters of Junius" (1812) have ascribed to that accomplished satirist; but it may be reasonably supposed that it was preceded by other anonymous political tirades, as the daily journals at that time abounded with strictures on public persons. Though this communication is attributed to Junius, and certainly has strong characteristics of his subsequent style, we know that other writers attempted the same tone of language and expression. Very soon afterwards, we find the highly gifted boy, Chatterton, assailed the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, and other public men, in a style of vituperation and sarcasm closely approaching that of Junius.†

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* The *Public Advertiser* was a newspaper of considerable circulation, and of established reputation. We find that, at the beginning of 1760, there were only three daily newspapers published in London, viz.: the "Daily Advertiser," printed by J. Jenour; the "Gazetteer," by C. Say; and the *Public Advertiser*, by W. Woodfall. These were all sold at the price of two-pence halfpenny each. Between 1760 and 1767, William Woodfall was succeeded, as publisher of the last, by his son, Henry Sampson Woodfall.

† The following apposite remarks are from a good edition of Chatterton's Works, published at Cambridge, in 2 vols., 12mo., 1842.

"We shall make but few remarks on Chatterton's celebrated letters. His model appears to have been *Junius*, and he cleverly *imitated the inimitable*. The structure of the sentence is not dissimilar, and there is no deficiency of trope and antithesis; but the delicate irony and caustic sarcasm of that fearless writer, and the polished diction, and the exquisite unfolding of the expression, are sought in vain. Instead of these we have, what Shelley would call, a mixture of wormwood and verdigrease: well turned periods, 'full of sound and fury, but signifying nothing,' and a sort of Bombastes Furioso taking to task, infinitely amusing when we reflect on the age and circumstances of the writer.

Ten other letters on different subjects, dated in the year 1767, are ascribed to Junius; some of which are without signatures, and others variously signed. In the fourth (dated 25th August, 1767, and signed "A Faithful Monitor") Lord George Townshend, who, as Brigadier General in America, had been attacked in 1760, in the "Letter," already mentioned, is bitterly assailed, as well as his brother, the Honorable Charles Townshend. The following remarkable passage may be quoted: "I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. *I have served under the one*, and have been forty times promised *to be served* by the other." It has already been shown that Barré served in the army at Quebec, as captain in the regiment of which Lord George Townshend was Colonel. The first part of this paragraph evidently refers to that officer. Charles Townshend never had any military command; but as Secretary of War, in 1761 and 1762, he must necessarily have had frequent communication with an officer so distinguished as Colonel Barré, and it is highly probable that in his official capacity he had promised the Colonel that promotion which he was then seeking, and which, as we have seen, he afterwards obtained.

Lord Townshend was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the next letter of the series (16th Sept., 1767, signed "Correggio"), his excellency's "singular turn for portrait painting," and "caricatura," is adverted to in terms similar to those used in the Pamphlet of 1760, the principal members of the cabinet being successively introduced by the writer as subjects for the exercise of his lordship's artistic abilities.

The next letter ascribed to Junius, is signed "Moderator," and dated 12th of October, 1767. It adverts to an altercation between other correspondents of the *Public Advertiser*, in which the personal

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Still, his political letters are remarkable for their energy, for their spirit, and for the readiness which they evince their author to possess in assuming and sustaining the style of thought and language of an old and practical composer." —"Life of Chatterton," p. cxxviii., vol. i.

courage of Lord Townshend had been alternately affirmed and denied. One of these writers (Philo Veritatis) stated that his lordship "gave proofs of his bravery at Minden and Quebec." Another having denied that he was present at the former place, is confirmed by "Moderator" who, however, adds, "Every one will acknowledge that Lord Townshend was at Quebec, *for every one remembers his letter from thence*, and perhaps *Philo* can tell who the secretary was." This sentence evinces a remarkable familiarity with the staff arrangements of the Quebec army.

A paper without signature, dated the 22nd of October, 1767, and headed "Grand Council upon the Affairs of Ireland," being a supposed dialogue between several of the ministers, who are indicated under absurd and fictitious names, is also attributed to Junius. In this Lord Townshend is again satirised, in language which presents a remarkable resemblance to that of the pamphlet of 1760. His cognomen in this dramatic sketch is Sulky, under which name he says,

> "I was quiet enough at Raneham, when *I was told* I was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. For a man to be *told that he commands* a kingdom or an army, when he dreams of no such matter, forms a situation too difficult for such a head as mine. My lords, I speak from experience. Upon another occasion indeed I found the business done to my hand, by a person who shall be nameless."—— "I believe I had best follow my Lord Bute's advice, to carry over with me a battalion of gallant disinterested Highlanders, who if there should be any disturbance, *may gallantly take to their broadswords*. Where plunder's to be had they'll take to any thing. I have seen it tried with astonishing success, and sure never was a man in such a taking as I was."——"However, I shall at least have the satisfaction of drawing their pictures. I believe the best thing I can do will be to consult with my Lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here, and I know he loves to be stationed in the rear as well as myself."*

A comparison of these passages with the extracts already quoted from the "Letter to a Brigadier General," in 1760, cannot fail to

* "Junius" (Woodfall's edition), vol. ii., pp. 487, 489, 491.

exemplify their identity of authorship. After a lapse of eight years the same phrases in Townshend's letter from Quebec are revived, as subjects for ridicule and sarcasm, which would hardly have been the case if the writer had not been the same individual.*

It must be acknowledged that in some of the letters and papers last mentioned which assail Lord Townshend, and the members of the cabinet, Lord Shelburne, the friend and constant patron of Colonel Barré, is castigated under the name of *Malagrida*.†

In order to reconcile the attacks of Junius upon that nobleman with the opinion that Colonel Barré was their author, it will be necessary to admit one of two propositions, from both of which the reader may at first be inclined to dissent. Firstly, that such attacks were not sincere, and that the Earl of Shelburne was cognisant of the writer who assailed his public conduct; permitting the same, under the mask of secresy, for the purpose of overthrowing the Duke of Grafton's ministry, and at the same time to conceal the more effectually his participation in such a project;—or, secondly, that such attacks (which are confined to a period of a few months) were made upon his lordship by Colonel Barré, equally without any real animosity, and with the object of concealing, *even from the party attacked*, their source and origin. In the latter case, we must infer that at a subsequent time the Earl was made acquainted with the secret, and became a party to the later satires, under the signature of Junius.

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* A letter from the same pen, but without signature (31st Oct. 1767) shows that the writer had secret political information at this time. He speaks of a "conversation that very lately passed between one of the ministers, and the Lord Lieutenant."

† Father Malagrida, an Italian Jesuit, was burnt upon a charge of heresy, about the middle of the last century. He was suspected of being concerned in an attempt to murder the King of Portugal. He possessed all the characteristics of the mysterious and influential society to which he belonged, and which is not yet extinct.

This last supposition is perhaps the more reasonable of the two; and although it may appear incredible that a writer of high principle, as Junius is generally *supposed* to have been, should, under *any* circumstances, assail his political benefactor, it will not be difficult to show, from the many inconsistencies and contradictions in the "Letters" themselves, that the great satirist was capable even of the meanest falsehood and dissimulation; whereas, for the purpose of the present argument, it is merely suggested that Barré, *to disguise and conceal himself and party*, extended to the Earl of Shelburne a small portion of the censure which he lavished so abundantly upon Bute, Grafton, and other leading members of a corrupt and venal government; to whom, it is well known, Lord Shelburne was decidedly opposed.

The hypocrisy and deception to which Junius had recourse, may be strikingly illustrated by reference to his conduct towards the Earl of Chatham. The reader has seen how bitterly Colonel Barré, in the outset of his career assailed that able and estimable minister, and how (with a degree of political turpitude unsurpassed, though often equalled, in more recent times) he afterwards became his warm adherent and panegyrist. Junius at *different* times expressed conflicting sentiments upon that statesman's conduct; and moreover it appears by the *Chatham Correspondence*, that at the *very same period* when he was stigmatising the Earl of Chatham, in the *Public Advertiser*, as an "idiot," a "lunatic," and a "traitor," he addressed his lordship *privately* in terms like these:—"If I were to give way to the sentiments of respect and veneration which I have always entertained for your character, or to the warmth of my attachment to your person, I should write a longer letter than your lordship would have time or inclination to read."

Surely the existence of such profound dissimulation will justify us in considering that probable, which would otherwise appear most unlikely; namely, that Barré, as the writer of these Letters, was capable of attacking his patron, in order to shield himself from discovery whilst pursuing more important objects.

Many proofs might be adduced to show that Junius was not always

sincere in his satirical tirades. He owned that Sir William Draper, by his injudicious defence of the Marquess of Granby, had provoked him to say much more against that nobleman than he would otherwise have done. To obtain the confidence of Wilkes, he admitted having wilfully misrepresented him. "It was necessary," he says, "to the plan of that letter to rate you lower than you deserved."

The statements of Junius respecting himself cannot be reconciled with truth. At one time he asserts that he was "the sole depositary of his secret," at another he admits that he had "people about him whom he would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than not at all." In some letters he mentions his communications as having been "very correctly copied" and on one occasion refers to "the gentleman who transacted the conveyancing part" of his correspondence with Woodfall, whilst he elsewhere says, "I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate." Though occasionally expressing confidence in the security of his secret, he frequently betrayed the greatest anxiety and dread of a discovery, and adopted the most elaborate artifices to preserve his incognito.

Considering all these circumstances we ought not to be surprised that Colonel Barré wrote the Letters dated in 1767 and 1768, which are ascribed to Junius. It is true that he therein censures the Earl of Shelburne as "Malagrida;" but his chief attacks are levelled at the Duke of Grafton and other leading politicians: and, as already intimated, it is a well authenticated fact that his lordship, and *consequently Barré*, who held a subordinate trust in the government, radically differed from the premier and his immediate supporters. If the Earl of Shelburne was ignorant of his assailant until both were out of office, it is easy to conjecture that he would not *then* resent attacks which were not likely to be renewed, but rather that he would assist the accomplished author of them in his future and more ambitious efforts.

The whole character of LORD SHELBURNE justifies this assumption. He is generally admitted to have been a profound and skilful diplomatist. Without entering fully into the history of his lordship's

political career, it is necessary to mention a few particulars respecting him, to show the probability of his being a participator, at all events, in the Letters bearing the signature of Junius. Sir Harris Nicolas in his "Biographical Peerage" briefly characterises this distinguished politician as follows:—

"William, Marquess of Lansdowne, passed a life of constant political exertion, by which his name is sufficiently distinguished in our history. In May, 1766, he was appointed Secretary of State, which he held till June, 1768. In 1782 he was again appointed to that office, and in July following (on the death of the the Marquess of Rockingham) First Lord of the Treasury, which he held till the 5th of April, 1783, and during that period concluded a general peace. The arrangements he made to obtain the command of this ministry so displeased his former friends that they immediately formed a strong opposition to him, which drove him from the helm, and he could never afterwards acquire the confidence of any powerful and efficient party. For many years he acted an insulated part, and exhibited continued proofs of a mortified ambition, which probably embittered his latter days. This subjected him to the suspicion of being disaffected with the government; and his wide correspondence with persons in every court of Europe, which probably arose from his anxious desire of priority, and pre-eminence in political information gave colour to the idea. He was created Marquess of Lansdowne in 1784 by Mr. Pitt, whom he had brought forward as his Chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of twenty-four."*

Another biographer of his lordship observes:—

"From 1768 to 1782 we find the Earl of Shelburne in honourable opposition to all the measures of government, preserving a consistency and uniformity of principle highly creditable to his political character. From 1770 to 1782 was certainly the most brilliant period of his public life. During this period no question of importance was agitated in Parliament in which the Earl of Shelburne did not take a leading part, and always on the patriotic or popular side. As a statesman, the Marquess of Lansdowne is universally acknowledged to possess first-rate qualities. As a senator he is the most interesting and fascinating speaker in the Upper House, and is second to no one in the force of his arguments, in the poignancy of his satire, and above all in the deep information with which his speeches abound."†

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* Nicolas's "Biographical Peerage," (1808), vol. i., p. 110.

† From a Memoir, signed A. D., in the second volume of "Public Characters," 8vo., 1799—1800.

Lord Chancellor Camden was indebted to the friendship of the Earl of Shelburne for his political advancement, and had a high opinion of his lordship's abilities. George Hardinge, a barrister, commenced a life of Camden, the manuscript of which is quoted as follows in Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors" (vol. v. p. 362.)

> "Lord Shelburne's character is too well known to demand any analysis of it, and I have only to observe that, with all his peculiarities, Lord Camden admired his debating powers above those of any other peer in his time, Lord Chatham alone excepted."

Further testimony of the Earl of Shelburne's political merits and mental qualifications is furnished in a copious biographical notice published in the *Monthly Magazine* soon after his decease; but it is unnecessary to quote therefrom. The following extracts from the interesting lucubrations of Jeremy Bentham will be more acceptable to the reader, as affording vivid glimpses of the true character both of the writer and his subject. The ensuing paragraphs are from Dr. Bowring's notes of his "Conversations with Bentham."

> "Now, I'll tell you," said the latter on one occasion, "by whose means Lord Shelburne was informed of every thing that passed at court. They were the two Lady Waldegraves, the daughters of the Duchess of Gloucester. These ladies lived at court—ladies of honour or some such thing. They used to write to the Miss V——'s [who were inmates of Lord Shelburne's family] and report what passed at court. Lord Shelburne did not tell me on the occasion, but he told me on after occasions, that he knew all that passed through this channel. There was another lady living with the Queen, a Lady Dartry, the wife of a banker at Dublin. He was afterwards raised a peg on the peerage, and called Viscount Cremorne, and as Lord Lansdowne was indebted no less than 300,000*l.*, a great deal of it came from this banking lord, and from Sir Francis Baring."*

In 1789 Bentham wrote some letters signed "Anti-Machiavel," which appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, the same journal which

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* Bowring's "Life of Bentham," p. 116.

had previously been the instrument of the popularity of "Junius." On the day, or the day after, one of these letters appeared, Bentham called at Lansdowne House, and thus relates what passed:—

"'You are found out,' cried Lord Lansdowne, laying hold of me; 'Lady L. it was that detected you,' and he told me by what mark. He was in a perfect ecstacy. Never shall I forget the rapidity with which we vibrated arm in arm, talking over the matter, in the great dining-room. A day or two after came out in the same paper, an answer, under the signature of 'A Partisan.' 'So,' says he, 'here's an antagonist you have got! Do you know who he is?' 'Not I indeed.' 'Well, I will tell you; it is THE KING.' *That he had means of knowing this was no secret to me. For a considerable length of time, a regular journal of what passed at the Queen's House had been received by him: he had mentioned to me the persons from whom it came.* The answer was, *of course*, a trumpery one. The communication produced on me the sort of effect that could not but have been intended. JUNIUS had set the writings of the day to the tune of asperity. I *fell upon* THE BEST OF KINGS *with redoubled vehemence.*"*

These observations prove that Lord Shelburne possessed in an eminent degree the power of aiding Junius with secret information respecting persons, and proceedings at court. Other passages will exemplify his personal and political character and opinions:

"Captain Blankett and Jekyll were necessary instruments to Lord Shelburne. They were to watch in the quarters of the enemy."—(p. 116.)

"His Lordship did not care much about Hastings; but knowing the part the King took, *and having all the King's conversations reported to him*, he professed to take Hastings's part."—(p. 117.)

"The conversation turned upon Lord Mansfield. To the two noble friends (Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden) he was the object of conjunct and undisguised antipathy."—(p. 119.)

"Lord Lansdowne's mind seemed always in a state of agitation, with the passion of ambition and the desire of splendour. He was never much at ease, for he always outran the constable, and involved himself monstrously in debt. What endears his memory to me is that, though ambitious of rising, he was desirous of rising by means of the people. He was really *radically* disposed, and he witnessed the French revolution with sincere delight. He had quar-

* Bowring's "Life of Bentham," p. 212.

relled with the Whig aristocracy, who did not do him justice; so he had a horror of the clan, and looked towards them with great bitterness of feeling. That bitterness did not break out in words, though of him *they* spoke most bitterly. *There was artifice in him*, but also genuine good feelings. His head was not clear. He felt the want of clearness. He spoke in the House with grace and dignity; yet he uttered nothing but vague generalities. He took much pains to consult particular men."—(p. 187.)

The following extract from the same volume is apposite to my present purpose, from its direct reference to Colonel Barré. The reader may compare it with this statement of Junius. "It is true I have *refused offers* which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted."*

"The hints thrown out by Lord Shelburne about offers made to entrap him have been particularised. One day Eden told him he came by order of the King, and made him three propositions: the first, to come in and act with Lord North and Lord Suffolk; another, to act with either of them without the other; and a third, to come in without either of them. This latter he would have accepted, had not his friends—some, or all of them, been excluded. *Barré*, he says, *has been repeatedly and constantly refusing* 3000*l. a year*, which would have been given to him, if he would have deserted Lord Shelburne. He values himself much on his friends, and on THEIR MUTUAL FIDELITY. With Alderman Townshend he says he has been connected twenty-two years; with Lord Camden, about twenty-one; with Dunning, eighteen; and with Elliot, I think he added, sixteen."

These illustrations of the character of the Earl of Shelburne must suffice to support the view already advanced, that, even if his Lordship was ignorant of the author who satirised him in the *Public Advertiser*, he may have aided that writer in his strictures on other public men, after becoming acquainted with his secret. From what has been already said respecting Colonel Barré, he may be supposed capable of including his political patron in public censure, for the purpose of concealing himself from discovery. Many circumstances

* Woodfall's "Junius," vol. iii., p. 202.

and expressions in the Letters of Junius strongly countenance the opinion that Barré was their author; and the difficulty arising from the sarcastic allusions to Lord Shelburne has now (it is hoped) been satisfactorily removed.

Assuming, therefore, that Colonel Barré wrote the letters in the *Public Advertiser* of 1767 attributed to Junius, it will be desirable to glance briefly at the remainder of the series, in order to strengthen and confirm this proposition.

The letters of "Poplicola," "Correggio," and "Moderator," in 1767, were followed in the ensuing year by others, which (chiefly from internal evidence) are supposed to be from the same pen, bearing a variety of signatures.

Under the name of "Mnemon," the grant of a part of the Duke of Portland's estate to Sir James Lowther was severely reprobated: and the follies of the Duke of Grafton, with various topics of less importance, were freely discussed.

In the month of August, 1768, a letter appeared with the signature of "Lucius," which reproached the government in reference to their treatment of Sir Jeffery Amherst.

> "It was just at this period," says Dr. Mason Good, "that the very extraordinary step occurred of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his government of Virginia, for the sole purpose, as it should seem, of creating a post for the Earl of Hillsborough's intimate friend, Lord Botetourt, who had completely ruined himself by gambling and extravagance. This post had been expressly given to Sir Jeffery for life, as a reward for his past services in America, and it was punctiliously stipulated that a personal residence would be dispensed with. It was an atrocity well worthy of public attack and condemnation; and the keen vigilance of Junius, which seems first to have traced it out, hastened to expose it to the public in all its indecency and outrage, and with the warmth of a *personal friendship* for the veteran hero."

That Colonel Barré possessed the personal friendship of Amherst cannot be denied. Besides their joint services at Louisbourg, Barré had been under the general's observation at Montreal, being chosen, as the reader has been informed, to convey to England the de-

spatches announcing the surrender of that city. Between the 10th of August and the 20th of September, 1748, the subject of Sir Jeffery's unjust dismissal was discussed in eight letters in the *Public Advertiser*, each bearing the signature of "Lucius." Aided, doubtless, by the ill-used general, the writer distinctly referred, in support of his arguments, to all the written and personal communications which Amherst had held with the Duke of Grafton and Lord Hillsborough, who were two of his principal oppressors. These letters moreover evince an equal knowledge of the deliberations of the cabinet; thus affording the strongest possible grounds for the inference that they were written by Colonel Barré, a dissentient member of the government, and the intimate friend of Sir Jeffery Amherst. The literary merit of these letters will be readily acknowledged. Dr. Good says that "the proofs of their having been composed by the writer denominated Junius are incontestable: the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobatory style, independently of any other evidence, sufficiently identify them."*

Although the letters of "Lucius" attracted much public notice, a still greater degree of popularity attended four other papers under the signature of "*Atticus*." It is obvious that the writer adopted the latter name as indicating a greater purity of style; and their success proved that he did not over-estimate them. As "Atticus" he accused the ministry as the cause of the deplorable financial position of the country and the embarrassment of its various foreign relations.

The first letter under this signature appeared in August, 1768, and the three others in the following October and November. The former contained a prediction that the British funds would sustain a rapid depreciation, which actually occurred, and served to increase the popularity of the series. The apathy of the ministry in

* Woodfall's "Junius," vol. i., p. *14.

allowing the French to obtain possession of Corsica was severely reprobated by "Atticus;" who, in the third letter (October) displays a full knowledge of the proceedings of the government in general, and especially as affecting the Earl of Shelburne. "We are assured," says the writer, "by the advocates of the ministry, that while Lord Shelburne is Secretary of State we can have no reason to apprehend a rupture with France or Spain. This proposition is singular enough, and I believe turns upon a refinement very distant from the simplicity of common sense. But admitting it to be self-evident, the conclusion is such as I apprehend your correspondent did not clearly foresee. *Now, sir, the fact is that his lordship's removal has been for some weeks in agitation, and is within these few days absolutely determined.*"*

Lord Shelburne had in fact ceased to hold office, although the circumstance was not publicly announced until two days after the date of this letter.

His lordship, as well as the Earl of Chatham, and Colonel Barré, had long differed with the Duke of Grafton and other members of the government; and it appears that their mutual resignation had been pre-arranged; as the retirement of the Earl of Shelburne was accompanied, simultaneously, by that of the Earl of Chatham and Colonel Barré. The "Chatham Correspondence" shows that Lord Shelburne's resignation was forced upon him by the leaders of the Cabinet, and that it was contemplated several weeks before it actually took place. Lord Chatham resisted an entreaty from the King, amounting almost to a positive command, to retain his office. In a letter to the Duke of Grafton he made the following observation, explaining, next to his severe illness, the chief cause of his

* Woodfall's "Junius," vol. iii., p. 165. In the same letter the Earl of Shelburne, amongst other members of the administration, is assailed in strong and animated language. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments already urged, to show the probability that Barré may have been the author of these comments.

retirement. "Though unable to enter into business, give me leave, my lord, not to conclude without expressing to your grace, that I cannot enough lament the removal of Sir Jeffery Amherst and that of Lord Shelburne."*

After the month of October, 1768, when Chatham, Shelburne, and Barré, thus retired, Junius did not repeat his censure of the Earl of Shelburne, whose policy he, on one occasion, eulogised; whilst his attacks upon the Earl of Chatham were so much modified that they may be said also to have terminated. Parliament met in November, and Barré, on the 8th of that month, spoke in opposition to the government. On the previous 13th of August, immediately before his resignation, the Corporation of Cork, "ordered, That the Right Honorable Isaac Barré, Esq., one of the Vice Treasurers of this kingdom, be presented with his freedom at large of this city, in a silver box "†

Subordinate to the letters of "Atticus," and in their defence from certain correspondents in the *Public Advertiser*, two communications were published from the same pen, with the signature of "Brutus;" but these were comparatively hasty productions, analogous to those signed "Philo-Junius," by which, at a subsequent time, "Junius" supported and enforced his more elaborate arguments.

Having by these communications, and many others with different signatures, evinced extraordinary talents, this powerful satirist put forth all his strength under a new name. The last epistle of "Atticus" was dated 14th November, 1768; and on the 21st there appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, his first Letter bearing the

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* *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 338. In this volume there are many proofs of Chatham's friendship and sympathy for Shelburne, and his disapproval of the treatment he had received.

† Council Book of the Corporation of Cork.

signature of JUNIUS.* This, however, was not acknowledged by its author as one of the series which afterwards became so celebrated. It was succeeded on the 15th of December, by a paper without any signature, which in its turn was followed on the *21st of January*, 1769, by the able and powerful Letter which stands first in the recognised edition of the "LETTERS OF JUNIUS."

This remarkable production was evidently composed with great pains and labour, as may be inferred by the following passages:—

> "The submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, cheerful, and I might almost say, unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.
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> "The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion; and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of inquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers; and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation."†

During the year 1769, the pen of Junius was actively employed against the government; and Colonel Barré simultaneously rendered himself conspicuous by adopting a similar course in Parliament. Though very briefly reported, the notices of his speeches are gene-

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* He had before written as "*Lucius*" and "*Brutus:*" a sufficient proof of his admiration of the character of the Roman patriot, LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

† Woodfall's "Junius," vol. i., pp. 47, 48, 49.

rally accompanied by remarks which show that they were remarkably eloquent and effective. The famous *Address to the King*, is dated "19th December, 1769," and although it is impossible to adduce circumstantial proof that Barré was its author, we cannot doubt of his qualification and disposition to write it. That the King and the Duke of Bedford, were the authors of his dismissal from certain military appointments in 1763, I have shown already (p. 48); and in 1767, the sovereign had observed and complained to Lord Chatham of the conduct of Barré's friend, Lord Shelburne, who opposed the policy which his Majesty approved.*

Proceedings were commenced against Woodfall for libel, as the publisher of the "Address to the King" by Junius; and the action was tried in June, 1770, when Lord Chief Justice Mansfield directed the jury that "they had nothing to determine except the fact of printing and publishing," and that "whether the defendant had committed a *crime* or not, was a matter of no consideration" to them. They, however, clearly intimated their opinion that there was no criminality in the alleged libel, by a verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing *only*." Upon subsequent argument, a new trial was ordered, but when the case was called on, the Attorney-General could not produce the original newspaper containing the libel, which was necessary to prove the publication; and no further proceedings occurred.† Lord Mansfield's charge to the jury provoked the severity of Junius, who, on the 14th of November, following, addressed him in the "Public Advertiser," in a letter remarkable for stinging sarcasm and bitter irony.‡ Early in the

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* *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iii., pp. 260.

† Other individuals were prosecuted for republishing the same celebrated Letter in the columns of their respective newspapers.

‡ "You will not question my veracity, when I assure you that it has not been owing to any particular respect for your person that I have abstained from you so long. Besides the distress and danger with which the press is

ensuing year the spirit of freedom which the Letters of Junius had diffused, animated the proprietors of various newspapers, who proceeded resolutely to report the debates of both Houses of Parliament. The ministry opposed this as a breach of privilege, and summoned the printers before the bar of the House of Commons. They were defended, however, by many patriotic members of Parliament, and by none more warmly than by Colonel Barré. As city magistrates, the Lord Mayor of London, and two of the aldermen, had likewise opposed the proceedings of the crown; and upon a motion for the committal of Alderman Oliver to the Tower, Colonel Barré made the animated speech already quoted in page 16. Junius, as is well-known, took the same view of this question as Barré. At this time the Colonel was in frequent correspondence with the Earl of Chatham, and acted in the House of Commons in conformity with the wishes of that nobleman; and in some cases by previous arrangement with him. Their letters in the *Chatham Correspondence*, especially with reference to the proceedings against the printers (March, 1771), are exceedingly interesting and valuable. Those of Colonel Barré are vigorous and acute, but (as might be expected in familiar letters) not marked with the same degree of polished eloquence as the published writings of Junius.

The next question which Junius discussed, was one in which there is a remarkable analogy between his opinions and those expressed by Barré,—namely, the seizure of the Falkland Islands by the governor of Buenos Ayres, under the orders of the Court of Spain. The matter was fully debated in Parliament towards the

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threatened when your lordship is party, and the party is to be judge, I confess I have been deterred by the difficulty of the task. Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted. Ample justice has been done by abler pens than mine, to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be *my* humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense."—Woodfall's "Junius," vol. ii., p. 159.

end of 1770, and the beginning of 1771, when Colonel Barré spoke with great ability in defence of the insulted honour of Great Britain ; and avowed, as already intimated, exactly the same sentiments as those expressed by Junius.

In 1771, Junius commenced a correspondence with Wilkes, which was carried on for some time through the medium of Woodfall. The first letter which passed between the parties was one from Wilkes, dated 21st August, 1771. The chief object of this was to induce the latter to support Alderman Sawbridge in the ensuing election for the office of Lord Mayor, in opposition to Alderman Nash, the ministerial candidate. It is a long epistle, without any rhetorical embellishments :—" this is not intended," says the writer, " for a correct or polished composition, but it contains the very best of Junius's understanding." He wrote again on the 7th of September, criticising some resolutions passed by a society calling themselves " the Supporters of the Bill of Rights." Wilkes replied to these letters on the 12th September, and stated the reasons which induced him to decline acting on the advice of Junius as to the civic election. Amongst other remarks he says, " I should fear the Mansion House would be besieged, and taken by the banditti of the Shelburnes." He also expressed his opinion that Alderman Sawbridge had " become the absolute dupe of *Malagrida's* party." There is no doubt that Sawbridge was really patronised and supported by Lord Shelburne; a circumstance which strengthens the opinion that Barré was the author of the Letters to Wilkes. In reply to the alderman's objections, Junius says:—" Sawbridge is *not* a dupe to any set of men whatsoever ; nor do I think he has taken any violent or decided part against you." " There is another point on which I must be much more serious and earnest with you. You seem to have no anxiety, or apprehension, but lest the friends of Lord Shelburne should get possession of the Mansion House. In my opinion they have no chance of success whatsoever. The real danger is from the interest of government; from Harley and the Tories." Several

other letters passed between these strangely associated parties, but the correspondence dropped in the month of January, 1772.

On the 21st of that month "Junius," who had then for three years* maintained his vigorous attacks upon the corrupt lawyers and statesmen of the country, published his final Letters under that memorable signature. One of the two epistles which appeared on the day referred to, was addressed to Lord Mansfield, pointing out, at great length, and in strong and vigorous language, the illegality of his proceedings in allowing a culprit, charged with felony under peculiar circumstances, to be discharged from custody on bail; and the other Letter of the same day was addressed by way of contrast, to Lord Camden, for whom the writer evinces the highest esteem; strongly urging his lordship to move the impeachment of Lord Mansfield in the House of Lords.

In these two Letters, particularly in the last, the style of Junius seems to have attained its highest perfection. Having quoted a few sentences from the *first* Letter of the series, it may be desirable to give likewise the opening and the close of the *last*.

[To Lord Camden.]—"My lord, I turn with pleasure from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification. I call upon you, in the name of the English nation, to stand forth in defence of the laws of your country, and to exert in the cause of truth and justice, those great abilities, with which you were entrusted for the benefit of mankind." . . . . . "Considering the situation and abilities of Lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that, in *my* judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. Thus far I have done my duty in endeavouring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior

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* It is a singular circumstance that as the first of the acknowledged series of Letters signed "Junius" is dated "21*st January*, 1769," the last of that celebrated collection is dated on the *same day* in the year 1772. The latter was "ready for publication," as Junius stated to Woodfall, on the 6th of January; but he would not allow it to appear until the 21st.

ministerial office in the temple of justice. I have bound the victim and dragged him to the altar.—JUNIUS."*

A week after the conclusion of the Letters of "Junius" their author devoted himself to a vehement attack upon Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, for whom he entertained a strong aversion, and whom, as "Junius," he had before incidentally reproached. The signature he adopted for this purpose was "*Veteran*," under which appellation he addressed four Letters to his lordship,† and another to "the Printer of the Public Advertiser," bitterly assailing Barrington as a time-serving and despicable official; and grounding his attacks chiefly upon the appointment of a French stock-broker, Mr. Chamier, as Deputy Secretary at War, and on the neglect and removal of Mr. D'Oyly, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis. Two short Letters with other signatures, gave variety to the main strictures upon his lordship, whilst they strengthened and supported them in every material point, and served to keep public attention directed to the subject until the month of May, 1772. On the 10th of that month, Junius forwarded to Woodfall *the last production of his pen,* which was also directed against the Secretary at War. This final essay was signed "*Nemesis;*" and by the desire of the author, was appropriately announced the day before,

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* It is a remarkable fact that Junius submitted *the printer's proofs* of these two Letters to the Earl of Chatham; accompanied by a "most secret" communication to his lordship, urging him to assist in degrading Mansfield.—(See a fac-simile of the letter in the *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iv.) Barré was at this time on friendly terms with Lord Chatham (and Junius had long ceased to attack him): but it is not likely that the Colonel would disclose his secret to the ex-premier, and therefore the fact of this communication being confidentially and mysteriously forwarded, does not at all invalidate the claims of Barré.

† In the earliest he says, "this is the first of *sixteen Letters* addressed to your lordship, which are ready for the press, and shall appear as fast as it suits the printer's convenience."

as follows: "*Memoirs of Lord Barrington in our next;*" it being, in fact, a short sketch of that nobleman's political career, with many sarcastic allusions to the manœuvres by which, through various changes of administration, he had contrived to retain his office for so many years, and to provide for several members of his family.

The eight Letters signed Veteran, Nemesis, Scotus, and Arthur Tell-Truth, bear the strongest marks of Colonel Barré's language and sentiments, as publicly expressed by him in the House of Commons; particularly on the 13th of November, 1770. He then tauntingly asked the ministers who they would appoint as commander-in-chief, instead of Lord Granby, whose death he affected to lament; and he proceeded to allude ironically to Barrington, as follows :—

> "Our distresses, however, are not without consolation. We have an *excellent* Secretary at War; a secretary whose despatches may be safely trusted to our enemies, since it is impossible that our friends should understand them. Such were some of his letters to the Governor of Gibraltar, during the last war, some were contradictory, and all were confused. This lost us Minorca; and if his talents produced such notable effects when he was in a subordinate department, what may be expected when he is the supreme director! That he can write intelligibly, and give spirit to our troops, for such purpose as wisdom sees fit, we have a memorable instance in the destruction of his Majesty's subjects in St. George's Fields. I wish the ministry joy of such a superintendent of the military department, but am sorry that I cannot pay the same compliment to my country."

The following passage from Lord Barrington's reply to this attack, will show that their dislike of each other was mutual. With reference to Lord Granby he said,

> "The honourable gentleman asks, where shall we find such another? to which I reply, I cannot tell. Will this also become matter of reproach? If any member can point out a proper successor, he shall have my approbation. The honourable gentleman thrusts himself forward, with the amiable modesty that distinguishes his character; but as I have no opinion either of his head or his heart, I will not give my advice that *he* should be appointed successor to the Marquis of Granby."—(Hansard's *Parliamentary History*).

The very same points of objection to Lord Barrington,—the defects in the language of his letters,—his insulting treatment of General Officers,—his assertion that there was not an individual in the profession qualified to succeed Lord Granby, as Commander-in-chief,—together with his injudicious eulogy of officers who had ordered the troops to fire upon the people, were among the leading topics in the eight Letters just referred to. The debate in which the above speech of Colonel Barré's was delivered, was more than once referred to by "Veteran;" and General Harvey, who had superseded Barré as adjutant-general, on his disgrace in 1763, was made to participate in the abuse which the anonymous writer bestowed upon the noble secretary. "Veteran" must have had a familiarity with military affairs, and that qualification Barré necessarily possessed in an eminent degree; whilst, through Lord Shelburne, he was also in a position to learn quite as much of the internal economy of the War-Office as these Letters disclosed. He probably possessed some personal knowledge of D'Oyly or Francis; and a very slight acquaintance with either would sufficiently account for his espousing their cause, and for his antipathy to Chamier, the minion of Lord Barrington.

In further proof that Colonel Barré's feelings were decidedly hostile to Lord Barrington, another debate in Parliament on the 9th of December, 1772, seven months after Junius ceased to write, may be advantageously referred to. In a discussion on the army estimates, Barré referred to the case of a meritorious officer in his former regiment, the 32nd, whom he had recommended for promotion, and who was set aside in favour of another, who had money to support his claims. "I recommended him," said Barré, "to the Secretary at War (Barrington) and the Commander-in-chief. *From the former I had indeed little to expect:* I had no favours to ask or expect of him." Lord Barrington, in answer to the charge, owned that he could not justify it; but as to another part of Colonel Barré's speech, he extenuated his conduct by the necessity of obeying orders from the Secretary of State. "If I refused, I must have resigned:" and

here we are told that Barré, in the true spirit of "Junius" (or "Veteran"), interrupting him, softly said, "*and that you would not do.*" The Colonel enlarged upon this point in his reply, and evinced a familiarity with his lordship's department:

> "*I am told* that *in the War Office* no man is more capable of whispering, in a soft, complaisant, and easy manner, *No*, than his lordship. I wish he would now and then muster up courage to say *No*, like a man, upon more important occasions. I think he has, with very few intervals, contrived, by an admirable dexterity, known only to himself, to be employed sixteen or seventeen years; and by this time I should suppose he is at least half a soldier. He should feel for the honour of the service, and not devote troops who have served in the war, to destruction, unpitied, in the West Indies. But '*he acts only ministerially;*' and he says '*if he refuses he must resign;*' and disagreeable as the one may be to his lordship, *the other is infinitely more so.*"—(Hansard's *Parl. Hist.*)

This identity between the sentiments of Barré and those of Junius confirms the opinions already urged.

It has been stated above, that the Letter of "Nemesis" was the last publication known to have proceeded from the pen of Junius. Woodfall, however, received one private communication of a subsequent date (19th January, 1773), in which Junius positively declined to write again; and expressed his disgust at the want of unanimity which prevailed on the popular side.

I have thus traced briefly the chief points of analogy between the writings of Junius, and the character and conduct of Colonel Barré, during the period when the Letters of the great satirist were in course of publication: and it will be seen that such resemblances are not only strongly marked, but positive, and tend materially to sustain the views which I have ventured to advocate. In the ensuing chapter I shall very shortly notice the career of Barré, from the beginning of the year 1773 until his death; and conclude with some general observations, recapitulatory of the arguments before advanced.

CHAPTER IV.

MEMOIR OF BARRÉ, CONTINUED—1773. RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION—SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT—CONSTANT OPPOSITION TO LORD NORTH AND THE AMERICAN WAR —1782. RESUMES OFFICE WITH LORD SHELBURNE—RECEIVES A PENSION— RESIGNS ON THE FORMATION OF THE COALITION MINISTRY—APPOINTED CLERK OF THE PELLS—BECOMES TOTALLY BLIND, AND RETIRES FROM PUBLIC LIFE— DEATH—REMARKS ON HIS CHARACTER—WILLIAM GREATRAKES, HIS PRESUMED CONNECTION WITH THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS—SUMMARY.

JUNIUS finished his literary labours with the attack on Lord Barrington, under the signature of "Nemesis," on the 12th of May, 1772; and, on the 19th of January following, expressed to Woodfall in these remarkable words his resolution to write no more:—"I meant the cause and the public: both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible."

This is not the language of affectation, but seems to come from the heart; Colonel Barré evinced this feeling and sentiment on many occasions; and therein coincided with Junius, as much as in his opinion of Lord Barrington. I have now to direct the reader's attention to another instance of hostility between Barré and that nobleman, which led to the Colonel's retirement from the army, almost immediately after the date of the letter from Junius to Mr. Woodfall. Barrington, as Secretary at War, had, after the death of Lord

Granby, monopolised all the patronage usually enjoyed by the Commander-in-chief; and he appears to have exerted that patronage at the beginning of the year 1773, in a manner decidedly hostile to Barré. The senior Lieutenant-Colonel of the year 1761 had been previously promoted to the rank of Colonel, and in a "London Gazette" of January, 1773, Lieutenant-Colonel Gray and Sir Thomas Wilson, the two next in seniority, received the same promotion; but Barré and Sir Hugh Williams, who were next to them, were passed over; whilst their junior, Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, was raised to the rank of Colonel. It cannot be doubted that the King, in conferring these honorary distinctions, acted on the advice of Lord Barrington; it is certain that Barré felt the insult keenly; and, persuaded as I am that he was the writer of the above quoted letter from Junius to Woodfall, it follows that his feelings on the occasion would naturally dictate the expressions of indifference and disgust which that letter contains.

Barré's proceedings on being thus neglected were characteristic. He wrote on the 21st of January to the Earl of Chatham, with whom he had been for some time on friendly terms, as follows: "The particular manner in which his Majesty has been advised to make a late promotion in the army, has so much the appearance of a premeditated affront to me, that I feel myself under an absolute necessity of retiring from a profession in which I have served six-and-twenty years." After stating the circumstances, and explaining his peculiar claims as superior to those of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, Barré observes:—"This new discipline, my Lord, is surely not calculated to cherish the spirit of an army, which your Lordship has taught to conquer in every climate. Directed as it has been lately, I am proud of renouncing the profession. To enable me to take this step with propriety to myself, and with decent respect to the King, I feel that I stand in need of the long experience and sound judgment of much abler men than myself." Instead of an immediate resignation of his commission, Lord Chatham advised a memorial from Barré to the King, praying to be promoted according to his seniority of rank.

The Colonel adopted this recommendation, and had some correspondence with Lord Barrington upon the subject; but his application meeting with no encouragement, he requested to be allowed to retire from the service; and on the 21st of February acquainted the Earl of Chatham that he had received a letter from Barrington to the following effect:—"I have laid before the King your letter of the 8th instant to me; and I am commanded to acquaint you that in consequence of your request therein expressed, you have his Majesty's permission to retire from the service."—(*Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iv.)

Thus coolly deprived of his half pay and his military rank, Colonel Barré (as he continued to be called) retained his seat in Parliament, and indeed became more active than ever in the legislative debates. At the general election in 1774 Lord Fitzmaurice, the brother of Earl Shelburne, became member for Wycombe, whilst Barré was returned for Calne, as the colleague of Dunning. A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (August, 1817) thus refers to Barré's habits and circumstances about this period:—"He lived in Manchester Buildings, the last house on the right side towards the bridge, where he had a handsome, though not a large establishment, and received dinner company not unfrequently. I do not know what his funds then were, excepting that from a native property in Ireland, I think in Dublin, he received about 300*l.* a year."

The growing dissensions between Great Britain and her American colonies afforded Barré an ample field for oratorical display and patriotic exertion in Parliament. Lord North, as premier, weakly and wickedly involved this country in a long and disastrous conflict with America, throughout the whole of which, from 1773 to the resignation of Lord North in 1782, Barré distinguished himself as one of the ablest and most intrepid speakers on the opposition side of the House of Commons. He boldly and repeatedly encountered the minister* with fervid eloquence and animation, mingled

* See particularly the debate on the 22nd February, 1782, when Lord North,

with a degree of sarcasm and humour, which, even in the scanty reports of his speeches, stamp him as a highly successful and accomplished debater. It would be an easy and a gratifying task to select numerous passages in proof of this assertion, but the limits of our present Essay forbid the attempt.

On the dissolution of Lord North's ministry (March 20, 1782), the Marquess of Rockingham became premier; but his lordship found it necessary to combine with his own influence that of Lord Shelburne, who accordingly accepted office, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a post for which he was peculiarly qualified. Colonel Barré accompanied his friend and patron in his resumption of place, and became Treasurer of the Navy.

Though holding a subordinate office to that of the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne had equal influence with the King; and events which quickly followed showed that he freely exercised it. About three months after the Marquess of Rockingham became premier, he died suddenly: Lord Shelburne immediately succeeded him, and Barré was removed from the Treasurership of the Navy to the more lucrative post of Paymaster of the Forces. The personal adherents of Rockingham were displeased with these changes, as increasing the influence of Lord Shelburne; and though for a time they appeared to act amicably with that nobleman and his friends, their union was by no means sincere or cordial. In April, 1783, his lordship was forced to resign, by the extraordinary coalition between Fox, the leader of what had been the Rockingham party, and the former premier, Lord North. Against this unexpected combination Lord Shelburne was unable to contend: and in this, his final retirement from office, Barré

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goaded by the remarks of Barré, applied to him the epithets "insolent and brutal;" language which the unanimous feeling of the House of Commons compelled him to retract and apologise for.

evinced his customary fidelity, by accompanying his lordship into private life.

The chief feature of Lord Shelburne's short administration of 1782 was the conclusion of peace with America, and the recognition of the independence of that country; a measure which his lordship strongly urged upon the King, whose feelings were pertinaciously opposed to it. By debates in Parliament, immediately after the death of the Marquess of Rockingham, it appears that the Earl of Shelburne had powerfully exerted himself in favour of his zealous friends and supporters, Dunning and Barré. Besides securing the honour of the Garter for himself, he obtained a peerage for Dunning, as Baron Ashburton, with a place as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; together with the honour (not usually belonging to that office) of a seat in the cabinet. Barré was rewarded by a pension of £3200 a year, to commence on his retirement from the ministry.

This pension excited some severe remarks in the House of Commons, and led to a very interesting debate, in which the Colonel spoke of himself in the following terms:—

> "It did not become him to state claims, or enlarge upon pretensions that his friends might think he had to public favour: he would therefore only state what he had been, and what he might now have been, if his conduct had been different from what that House had seen it. In the last war he had the honour to command a regiment of 1000 men; and he trusted that while he enjoyed that command, he had neither disgraced himself nor his profession; at the peace his regiment was broke; and as he had served a campaign as adjutant-general to the immortal Wolfe, he was appointed to that office at home; he was at the same time made Governor of Stirling Castle, both which places were worth to him £1500 nett money. It was true that he ought not to look upon these places as a tenure for life: however, they were military places, and he had a right to imagine that he should have been dismissed from them for a military offence only. In this, however, he had been mistaken. He was an enemy to General Warrants; he had voted against them as a member of Parliament, and the very next day he was dismissed from his *military* appointments for this *political* offence. It was the etiquette to give a regiment to the

adjutant-general, in order to give him the more consequence and weight; he did not know whether he should have got a regiment of dragoons or of infantry,—(for there would no doubt have been a difference in the income),—but he knew that his successor in the adjutant-generalship had cleared 4000 guineas a year. This income he should have enjoyed, had he been less a friend to the liberties of the people; and at this day he would have been an old lieutenant-general. The loss of his adjutantcy and government was not, however, enough. He had the half-pay of a lieutenant-colonel, about £166 a year: a junior officer was promoted over his head: he had remonstrated and sued for his rank; but he was too obnoxious to the men in power: and, as it had been foreseen, he gave up his half-pay. Honour had its delicacies; and *he had rather starve than sacrifice his feelings.* Thus he had lost his very profession, and in return he was to enjoy, whenever he should quit his present office, a pension not more than equal to the half-pay annexed to the rank which he should now fill in the army if he had not given up his profession. The pension appeared to be high: £3200 sounded big; but, in fact, after the deduction of taxes, fees, &c., the real amount to him would be little more than £2100. If this appeared to the House to be too much, let them say so, and curtail it: or if they disliked the whole, let them annihilate it; for he would not wish to put into his pocket a single shilling of the public money, which that House should think he ought not to receive."*

William Pitt, the son of the Earl of Chatham, was introduced into the ministry, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Lord Shelburne, and continued in office under the Coalition. One of his most judicious acts was that by which, in the month of January, 1784, he relieved the country of the pension to Colonel Barré, by conferring on him, in lieu thereof, a sinecure as Clerk of the Pells, with a salary of £3,000 a year, which place had become vacant by the death of Sir Edward Walpole.

Barré was again returned for Calne in the new Parliament which assembled in May, 1784; but about this period he was precluded from taking an active part in public affairs, by the total loss of sight, a calamity with which he had been threatened ever since the battle at Quebec, where he was wounded in the left eye.† He

* Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxiii., p. 156, (July 9, 1782).

† Lord North also retired into seclusion about the same time, and from the

pathetically alluded to this circumstance in a speech in 1785; observing with an exclamation of deep concern, that "to his memory alone could he henceforth recur for assistance in stating or recalling facts." His speech on this occasion was in opposition to a ministerial project, and was noticed for its "personal acrimony" towards the premier. He addressed the House on two or three occasions after this (the last time being in March, 1788), but never at any length, or on any important subject: and he finally retired from Parliament at the general election of 1790.

Colonel Barré lived twelve years in complete retirement, but I have sought in vain to glean any authentic particulars of his personal habits or connections during that period. Two of my correspondents remember to have visited him, but they were too young to note any remarkable traits of character, and are now unable to recall any useful reminiscences of his manners. The following is the brief notice of Colonel Barré's death, as related in the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, under the date "July 20, 1802."

> "At his house in Stanhope-street, May Fair, after two days' illness, in his seventy-sixth year, the Right Honourable Isaac Barré, Clerk of the Pells. His health was declining for a considerable time past; and, a few hours before his dissolution, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which was the immediate cause of his death. Though blind for nearly the last twenty years of his life, he still continued a cheerful companion to the last. He began to distinguish himself in his political career at the same time with his countryman, Edmund Burke; and was a celebrated parliamentary debater during the American war. The office which has become vacant by his death he had held about fifteen or sixteen years, it having been granted to him during the early part of Mr. Pitt's administration, in order to save the country the expense of a pension which had been previously granted to the Colonel, and was in consequence relin-

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same cause;—total blindness. It is said that Barré being afterwards at Bath, was told that his lordship was also in that city; and replied, with a trace of his former pleasantry, that, though old antagonists, he was sure they would be glad to *see* each other.

quished. It is one of the largest benefices in the gift of the minister; worth 3000*l.* a year, and a complete sinecure.* Colonel Barré has died possessed of no more than 24,000*l.*, a moiety of which he has bequeathed to the Marchioness of Townshend."

I have caused search to be made for the Will of Colonel Barré in the principal repositaries of such documents, both in England and Ireland, but without success. I am told, by persons who knew the family of the Marquess of Townshend, that the statement that Barré bequeathed a large sum to the Marchioness is correct. When it is remembered that Lord Townshend was severely satirised by Junius, and that Barré's feelings towards him, as the antagonist of Wolfe, in 1759, were unfriendly, this legacy may be considered as a circumstance bearing against the probability of the new theory now advocated. The explanation is, however, obvious. The Marchioness was his lordship's second wife, and was not married to him till the month of May, 1773, a date which so immediately followed the termination of Junius's writings, that there was possibly some connection between the two circumstances. The lady had been long previously acquainted with the Colonel. Her brother, Richard Montgomery, was present with him in the attack upon Louisbourg (under Amherst and Wolfe) in 1758, and they were afterwards quartered together at Montreal. After the peace of 1763, Montgomery came to England and lived for nine years in cordial intimacy with Barré and other eminent politicians; but his sympathy with the American cause induced him, in 1772, to throw up his commission as a captain in the British army. He returned to America, and in 1775 took up arms on the part of the colonists. Together with General Arnold he conducted an attack upon Quebec at the beginning of the year 1776, and was killed in

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* His successor, in this sinecure appointment, was Mr. Addington, son of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Sidmouth.

the assault. Barré, Burke, and Fox, vied with each other in eulogising his character.*

Anne Montgomery,—the Marchioness of Townshend,—is said to have soothed by her affectionate attentions the declining days of Barré: who was a frequent visitor to his former antagonist, the Marquess. Probably, as the inquirers after Junius have frequently suggested, the reason of his silence on the subject, after the completion of the Letters, may be found in his unwillingness to acknowledge strictures on his own personal friends.

Besides the *Portrait* of Colonel Barré in the admirable composition by Sir Joshua Reynolds, already mentioned, an engraving from which accompanies this Essay, there is another portrait of him by Stuart, the American artist, painted at the request and expense of the Congress of that country. A portrait of the Colonel was engraved by W. T. Fry, for the "British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits" (4to., 1822) said to be from an original by Stuart, in the possession of the Earl St. Vincent. This is probably a duplicate or a copy of the last named picture; but Lord St. Vincent, to whom I applied on the subject, has not answered my letter of inquiry, or enabled me to give any account of it.

The personal character and mental qualifications of Colonel Barré have been fully elucidated in the course of the preceding narrative: and it must be allowed that his powers of sarcasm and invective, the boldness of his language, the intrepidity and patriotism of his conduct, apart from those peculiar circumstances of his position and connection which I have now endeavoured to illustrate, present an extraordinary resemblance to the characteristics of Junius, and render it surprising that such claims have not been previously, and more carefully, examined and elucidated.

It would be hardly proper to conclude an Essay on the Authorship of Junius without some remarks on his *hand-writing*; a subject which has received particular attention from every writer on the

* See Parliamentary Debate, 11 March, 1776.

subject, since the fac-similes of the Letters in Woodfall's possession were engraved and published. The penmanship of the Junius Letters is most peculiar.* Notwithstanding a resemblance in the formation of certain words and letters, no unprejudiced person can regard it as the hand-writing of Sir Philip Francis. It is still more unlike that of Lord George Sackville, and I must acknowledge that it is widely different from that of either Lord Shelburne or Colonel Barré.† Dunning's hand-writing† is nearer to that of Junius than that of any other of the presumed authors. It is not difficult to imagine that by a very slight effort, he could have so disguised his ordinary writing as to present the exact character and appearance of the mysterious correspondence. But having seen the papers in Mr. Woodfall's possession, I have arrived at a conclusion which the fac-similes would equally lead to;—that whoever was the penman, the writing was his natural hand, and not in any way disguised.

On the supposition that Barré was the author of the Letters, it follows that an Amanuensis was entrusted with the secret, and employed to transcribe the communications for the printer. It is unnecessary to allude to several remarks of Junius himself which countenance this idea ; because they are opposed to other observations which imply that he had no assistance whatever. The ablest writers on the subject (Butler, Barker, Jaques, and others) admit the probability that an Amanuensis was employed. I will, therefore, only mention a few romantic circumstances which have been elicited respecting WILLIAM GREATRAKES, who I believe to have been the actual *writer*, or *copyist*, of the Letters of Junius.

The first *accurate*‡ account of Greatrakes appeared in the "Gen-

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* See his signature in the wood-cut of the title-page.

† See wood-cut in the title-page.

‡ Charles Butler had referred to him, in an "anecdote" containing several errors, in his well-known Letter on the subject of Junius, dated July, 1799, and

tleman's Magazine" for December, 1813, in the following letter bearing the unusual signature, "ONE OF THE PACK."

"Mr. Urban,—Have the seekers after Junius ever heard of Mr. William Greatrakes, born in the barony of Imokilly, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, about 1725? One who was his friend, and who states his conviction, in common with others who knew him well, that this Greatrakes was the *Author* of the Letters of Junius, has permitted me to note down the following particulars relating to him; and which I am assured are, to the best of my informant's knowledge and recollection, correct. Mr. Greatrakes was bred to the law, and called at the usual period to the Irish bar. After practising a few years, he quitted that profession; and, after becoming an officer, signalised himself again as a barrister, by undertaking the defence of a friendless soldier upon trial for a capital offence. This circumstance led to an acquaintance with the judge; that to an introduction to the then Lord Lieutenant; and so on, finally, to an intimacy with Lord Shelburne, *in whose house he was an inmate during the publication of the Letters of Junius.* He became a half-pay officer, and about 1779 retired to a small property of his own in the neighbourhood of Youghal. Here he was engaged in continual writing and much correspondence with his friend, Lord Shelburne. He died at some town in Wiltshire on his way to London. During his sickness he sent for his executor, a Captain Stopford, who had been in the 63rd regiment of foot, and deposited many papers in his hands. Enclosed you have his autograph, cut from a book that had been in his possession.

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published in the "Anti-Jacobin Review." He says:—"The last anecdote on the subject I have heard is, that an old man, seemingly poverty-stricken, came in the Bath coach to the Devizes, or one of the next stages, and fell sick at the inn; that a very decent gentleman came to him from London; that the old man died; that he was buried in the church-yard; that over his tomb his friend caused a stone to be raised with Junius's motto, 'Stat nominis umbra;' and that Mr. Fox, travelling that road, stopped at the inn, and desired to be directed to the stone. This story is confidently circulated, but I certainly do not vouch for the truth of it." Mr. Butler was afterwards led to make particular inquiries respecting Greatrakes, in Ireland and elsewhere; and ascertained that he was known both to Lord Chatham and to Mr. Fox; that his name was mentioned among those who were first surmised to be authors of the Letters of Junius; that his family ascribed those Letters to him; and that one of his surviving nieces, on being shown the fac-simile of Junius's hand-writing was at once struck with it as being that of her uncle, which was, however, somewhat more sloping.

It certainly appears to bear a strong resemblance to most of the specimens in Mr. Woodfall's new edition; and if the preceding relation turns out to be in substance materially correct, it may induce those who believe that Junius employed an Amanuensis, to confer that honour upon William Greatrakes, Esq."

Beyond the notices in this letter and the inscription on the tomb-stone of Greatrakes in Hungerford Churchyard, which has been given in a previous page, I have vainly sought, by numerous letters of inquiry, to trace the biography, and ascertain facts relating to this gentleman; but his life and adventures seem to be as mysterious as the Letters the parentage of which has been so often and so long sought. Some zealous correspondents in Ireland have exerted themselves to obtain information on the subject by searching registers, inquiring of descendants, questioning the aged, and by advertisements and letters in the Irish newspapers. One gentleman (Mr. D. J. Murphy, of Cork) informs me that so long ago as the year 1804, he published in "The Cork Mercantile Chronicle," a statement respecting Greatrakes, founded on the narrative of Mr. James Uppington, a tradesman of that city, who had obtained his knowledge of the circumstances from Mr. Richard Wigmore, of the same place, a relative of Mr. Greatrakes. After considerable trouble, the newspaper containing Mr. Murphy's observations has been obtained, and the paragraph referred to is as follows:—

"Some time about the year 1767 a young gentleman of the name of Greatrakes (of a family which resides at a place called Killeagh, near Youghal) went to London, after going through the necessary studies at Trinity College, Dublin, for the purpose of being called to the Irish Bar.. After a stay of four or five years, he was seized at Hungerford on his return home* with a disease which proved mortal. His trunk, &c., arrived, agreeable to the direction, to his family in Ireland. A relative of the family (through whom the writer received the account) was called in by the mother to undertake the task of inspecting his papers; *among which he discovered the Letters of Junius in the hand-writing of the deceased young man, with all the interlineations, corrections, and erasures, which sufficiently established them as the original manuscripts.*"—(*Sept.* 7, 1804.)

* The inscription on the tomb-stone shows that Greatrakes died whilst "on his way from Bristol to London," on the 2nd of August, 1781, aged 52.

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Notwithstanding the lapse of time, Mr. Murphy's recollection of the statements of his friend, Mr. Uppington, is distinct and positive. The latter, and also Mr. Wigmore, the person who was said to have found the papers, were, he observes, "respectable and trustworthy persons, totally incapable of fabricating a story that was then every day liable to be contradicted and exposed."

I have before me a letter from Mrs. Ronayne, of Youghal, a niece of William Greatrakes (daughter of his brother, Osborne Greatrakes), wherein she says:—"I am sorry it is not in my power to give you the information you require. I was very young when my uncle died; but I have heard that he used to say that during his life the Author of Junius would never be known; as that secret would go with him to his grave."

From another member of the family, Mrs. McCarthy, of Lismore, (whose grandmother, Mrs. Courtney, was a sister of William Greatrakes), I have received several anecdotes evincing the confident belief of his relatives, not merely that he was connected with, but that he was actually the Author of, the Letters of Junius. This lady's narrative, however, tends to negative the statement of Mr. Wigmore as to the supposed discovery of manuscripts in the trunk of Greatrakes after his death.* She states that when that event occurred, Captain Stopford wrote from Hungerford to her grandmother "stating the particulars of his demise; that he (Stopford) attended him in his last moments, and received his directions as to his burial, and the disposition of his property; that 1000*l.*, part of the amount which Greatrakes had received by the sale of his

* I have also letters from Mr. Henry Wigmore, and Mr. Thomas Wigmore, relatives of the party referred to, who doubt the truth of the alleged discovery. The latter, apparently a gentleman of much intelligence, and possessing a taste for literature, expresses his conviction "that the facts relating to the contents of the trunk must have been greatly exaggerated. We may suppose that Mr. Richard Wigmore fell on a copy of Junius with, perhaps, notes in Greatrakes's handwriting; or some emended or suggested readings; a common thing amongst the readers of political essays."

commission, was in his possession, to be handed to her to redeem some property which had been mortgaged, and which with all his other property was left to her. Captain Stopford added, that his friend had told him that he was *the Author of the Letters of Junius*, the original manuscripts of which were in one of his trunks; and desired that the motto of Junius should be his only epitaph. A member of the family was despatched to Hungerford to obtain the money, trunks, and other effects of the deceased; but Stopford, who was in needy circumstances, had fled to America, carrying with him every thing belonging to Greatrakes that had fallen into his hands. It was ascertained by subsequent inquiries that he was there killed by a fall from his horse, leaving a son and other relatives, whom the family of Greatrakes have been unable to trace."

Amidst these conflicting statements, it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion respecting the connection of William Greatrakes with the Letters of Junius; but from all the circumstances, I am persuaded that he was intimately concerned in them; and that the task which devolved upon him was to copy the Letters for the printer, under the immediate superintendence of Colonel Barré.* I have only to add on this part of the subject, that the signature, "Will. Greatrakes," engraved in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (Dec. 1813), bears at least as much resemblance to the hand-writing of Junius, as that of Sir Philip Francis or any of the other candidates.

Reviewing the facts and arguments advanced in the preceding

* There are corrections, *in the "Junius" hand-writing*, on the proof sheets of the 12mo. edition, in Mr. Woodfall's possession: and it has been argued from this circumstance, that the penman was the actual author and not a mere Amanuensis; but the argument is not conclusive. Such corrections might have been made by an Amanuensis in the presence of the author, and by his directions. Moreover the former was probably a man of education; personally interested in the subject; quite capable of correcting the proofs; and even of assisting in the composition of the Letters.

pages, it will be seen I have shown many points of resemblance between Junius and Colonel Barré. The facts already stated prove that the latter was in all probability the author of a pamphlet published anonymously in 1760, which bears unmistakeable evidence of being the production of Junius, and which vituperates Lord Townshend, one of the subsequent victims of that writer, upon the same grounds, and in precisely similar language. That Barré, if really Junius, should not have published any political essay or pamphlet which can be traced to him with absolute certainty, may be explained upon the supposition that he was unwilling to expose himself to the chances of detection, by the comparison of a known work with the Letters of Junius.

Evidence has been already produced to show Barré's hostility to Lord Barrington, and his probable antipathy to the King and the Duke of Bedford. The Duke of Grafton he must have hated and despised for his opposition to Lord Shelburne ; and Mansfield, for his severity to Woodfall. Barré also manifested as much inconsistency as Junius did in his opinions of and strictures on the Earl of Chatham.

Enough has been said already respecting the comments of Junius on Lord Shelburne,—the constant friend of Barré. Those remarks soon terminated ; and on the 30th May, 1769, we find his lordship thus complimented by Junius, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Grafton :—" If, *instead of disowning Lord Shelburne*, the British Court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know, my lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt."

The friendships of Junius were precisely those of Barré ;—witness particularly his attachment to George Grenville, and to Sir Jeffery Amherst.

His opinions on public measures, as well as public men, were alike in unison with those of Junius ; particularly on Parliamentary

Reform, the seizure of the Falkland Islands, the invasion of Corsica by France, the proposed imprisonment of the city magistrates, in 1771, and the management of the Army, and of the War Office.

The very circumstance that a politician so distinguished as Colonel Barré was only once named by Junius, is in itself remarkable: though of course it is not, in itself, a proof that he wrote these famous Essays.*

It has been argued by Mr. Charles Butler, Dr. Mason Good, and others that Junius was a man of *high birth*, and of exalted rank and station. For the reasons so well expressed by my friend the Rev. John Mitford, and quoted in the *Preface* to this Essay, I cannot concur in this opinion; but on the contrary believe that Junius, like Barré, was a man of humble origin.

Nearly every writer on this interesting question admits that Junius was of mature age at the time he wrote his celebrated satires; and the want of this qualification is one of the strongest objections to the claims of Sir Philip Francis. Barré was in his 43rd year, when the first letter ascribed to Junius was written; and in his 47th when Junius exclaimed to Wilkes (in reply to an invitation to the Mansion House Ball); "Alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner."

That Junius was, or had been, in the British army hardly admits of a question. Mr. Jaques observes that it is "impossible for any person to peruse attentively this controversy without being convinced that the profound and accurate knowledge of military affairs displayed by Junius could only have been possessed by *an old and experienced soldier:* that it was by no means of such a superficial and amateur character as might have been gleaned by a clerk in the War Office, but bears indubitable marks of being the result of that knowledge

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* The reference to Barré is as follows;—"*I willingly accept of a sarcasm from Colonel Barré*, or a simile from Mr. Burke."

which is only to be acquired in the tented field, and amidst the actual turmoil and din of war."* The same writer quotes from the Letters a collection of martial similes which must convince every reader of the justice of his inference on this point. The most trivial military topics were discussed by Junius with unusual warmth and eagerness; the subject of his quarrel with Sir William Draper was essentially military; and his jealousy of the Guards, as evinced in his remarks on the escape of General Gansel from custody, would lead to the conclusion that, like Colonel Barré, he was attached to a regiment of the line.

Lord Brougham, amongst other writers, has asserted that Junius was not a lawyer by profession; adverting, more copiously than was necessary, to the imperfections of his legal arguments. Barré, it will be remembered, had been for a short time a law student, but he appears to have quitted that profession in disgust. This would account for that partial knowledge of the law which Junius displays, and for his severe allusions to its professors.†

Junius, by implication, calls himself an Englishman. Addressing "the English nation," he says, "I dedicate to you a collection of Letters written by *one of yourselves*." There are, however, many reasons for supposing that he was a native of Ireland; and indeed a large majority of the candidates for the authorship were Irishmen. The arguments on this point have been ably summed up by Coventry and Jaques. A complete knowledge of Irish affairs and

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* Jaques's *Junius and his Works*, p. 75.

† The argument of Lord Brougham is applied by him to negative the claims of Dunning to the authorship of Junius. I have supposed that Dunning *was* a participator in the secret, and that he made some suggestions to Barré for the matter of the Letters to Lord Mansfield; but I do not imagine that the former was actively engaged upon them. It may be remarked that rigid accuracy in legal points was hardly necessary for the purpose of those Letters: such plausible arguments as would succeed with *the public* being all the writer sought for.

Irish families is displayed in many of the Letters; besides peculiarities of phraseology and diction, which are strongly characteristic of a native of the sister kingdom. To mention only one remarkable expression:—Junius, in speaking of Colonel Luttrell, says, "He has degraded even the name of Luttrell;"—a phrase of which the full meaning could be only understood in Ireland, where that name is synonymous with *traitor* or *betrayer;* owing to the supposed treachery of a member of the family at the battle of the Boyne. There are also several expressions in the Letters of Junius which justify the inference that the writer was a member of the House of Commons.

The remarkable familiarity with the French language evinced by Junius, at a time when that accomplishment was comparatively rare, is a striking point in favour of Colonel Barré. Not only was Junius acquainted with that language as a scholar, but he was equally well versed in its idioms, and even in its nicknames. He satirically calls one of his antagonists a "*maquereau;*" and Barrington is made to describe Chamier, in the words,—"Sire,—it s'appelle *Ragosin*" (one of Scarron's heroes). "Taking the *pas*," "*mauvais honte*," and similar phrases, of frequent occurrence in Junius, were not at that time familiarly used in this country. He criticises gravely Lord Rochford's diplomatic French, pointing out that "in three lines there are no less than seven false concords:"—and several other instances might be referred to, if necessary. To Barré, whose father was a French emigrant, this language might be called his native tongue; he was in the frequent habit of visiting France; in his letters to Lord Chatham he employs the words and phrases of that country; in his speeches in Parliament he often narrated French anecdotes; and on one occasion he expressly said,—"Now, for my part, I understand French very well."

Finally, the sarcastic eloquence of Barré was precisely that of Junius, and it cannot be too strongly urged, that his speeches must have possessed literary merits: they are most imperfectly represented in the newspaper reports of the period. His memorable

attack on Pitt, on his first entrance into Parliament, has its parallel only in the violent antipathies of Junius.

If the statements, the facts, and the arguments contained in the preceding pages should fail to remove that veil which has so long obscured the Authorship of Junius's Letters, they must nevertheless propitiate the reader in behalf of Colonel Barré, who, it must be admitted, possessed most of the talents and qualifications which the best informed critics consider to be essential characteristics of that writer. Barré was a man of moral and physical courage, a scholar, and an acute and a severe politician. He possessed sound patriotism, was deeply versed in military science and practical warfare, and intimately associated with some of the most profound statesmen of his age, with whom he long continued to co-operate in the intrigues and contentions of party rivalry and hostility. In all his characteristics, as a gentleman, a politician, and a soldier, he was fully competent to carry on and complete the delicate, the arduous, and the hazardous task of writing the series of Letters which I have ventured to ascribe to him, a task which must have involved him imperceptibly in an intricate labyrinth of mental labour, as well as exposed him, in no common degree, to personal responsibility and danger.

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C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

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PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

THE

AUTO-BIOGRAPHY

OF

JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A.,

FELLOW AND HONORARY MEMBER OF SEVERAL OTHER ENGLISH AND FOREIGN SOCIETIES.

ILLUSTRATED BY SEVERAL PRINTS, FROM WOOD, STONE, COPPER, AND STEEL; WITH A COPIOUS CATALOGUE-RAISONNÉ OF ALL THE AUTHOR'S LITERARY WORKS.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS TO
The Britton Testimonial.
MARCH 1, 1848.

THE literary work here announced has been entailed on the Author by a circumstance over which he had no control, and which, whilst it cannot fail to gratify and animate him to further professional exertion, has impelled him to take up the pen in advanced age, when he ought rather to be closing all worldly affairs and seeking personal ease and tranquillity. Yet, although he has passed his seventy-sixth year, he is happy and grateful in acknowledging that he can devote, without fatigue or reluctance, six or eight hours daily to his long-accustomed vocation of reading and writing. The task of producing a detailed account of his public life and writings is one he never would have undertaken but for the SUBSCRIPTION TO A PUBLIC TESTIMONIAL which several of his indulgent friends have promoted, and have raised to an amount he never could have anticipated. Instead of applying the money thus collected to the purchase of a

piece of plate, or any fanciful but comparatively useless article, it was suggested, and he gladly concurred in the idea, that it would be more consonant to his pursuits in life, and to that occupation whereby he has attained to his present respectability and competency, to produce a Volume which should at once tell its own story, and explain the extent and characteristics of the numerous literary works he has projected and executed; whilst it might likewise serve as an incentive and exemplar to future aspirants for literary distinction. Nor is it the least consideration with him that such a publication will enable him also to reciprocate and perpetuate the compliment he has received from his friends, and furnish each of them with an acknowledgment which may be preserved amongst family records and memorials. Hence a mutual compact will be entered into and the author will be doubly incited to the performance of a task, which, though laborious, delicate, and onerous, will, when executed, be a lasting record of his own gratitude, of his exertions in the united cause of literature and art, and of his sympathies with his associates and with the times in which he has lived and laboured, while it will also reward and cheer his later days.

The volume thus preparing will furnish an *Auto-biography* of the Author, who projected and wrote part of *the Beauties of England and Wales*, which was commenced in 1800, and extended to 26 volumes, 8vo;—of *the Architectural, and the Cathedral Antiquities*, (19 vols. 4to, from 1805 to 1828,) and of other Literary works, which, it is generally admitted, produced marked and permanent effects on the embellished publications of the country. To elucidate and explain the origin, progress, and distinctive nature of those works, and to shew their influence on the Fine Arts as well as on Archæological and Topographical Literature will be the main object of the writer; whilst he must necessarily advert to, and remark on, artists, critics, and other persons and matters connected with the Literary profession, as exemplified in his own personal career.

THE VOLUME WILL BE

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8 & 9.—Plan and Elevation of a National Cenotaph Gallery, designed by J. Britton.—Engraved by Storm.

Engravings on Wood.

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3.—View of the interior of a Cottage in the same village, with a Fox in a cradle. Engraved by Joseph L. Williams, from a painting by A. Provis.
4.—View of a Wine Vault, Jerusalem Tavern, wherein the Author was immured for the greater part of six years. Engraved by J. Walmsley, from a drawing by F. W. Fairholt.
5.—View of a House in Burton Street, London, in which the author has resided twenty-eight years. Engraved by J. Walmsley, from a drawing by F. W. Fairholt.
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8.—View of the interior of Redcliffe Church, Bristol. Engraved by S. Williams, from a drawing by J. R. Thompson.
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E. J. Willson, Esq., Archt., F.S.A.	1	0	0
Thomas Windus, Esq., F.S.A.	2	2	0
B. G. Windus, Esq.	2	2	0
John Wodderspoon, Esq.	1	1	0
John Wood, Esq., Surveyor	1	1	0
John Wood, Esq., Artist	1	1	0
George Wood, Esq.—*Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*	1	1	0
Edward Wyndham, Esq.	1	1	0
Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P.	3	3	0
Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard	1	1	0
The Rev. James Yates	2	2	0
Mrs. Yates	2	2	0
John A. Yatman, Esq.	1	1	0

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"THE BRITTON TESTIMONIAL, 8vo. 1846."

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine, June*, 1846, *by the* REV. JOHN MITFORD.]

"This little pamphlet affords an account of a dinner given to Mr. Britton at the Castle Hotel, at Richmond, 7th July, 1845, on the 74th anniversary of his birth-day, together with the toasts and speeches on the occasion, and a list of the subscribers to the testimonial. Nathaniel Gould, Esq., was in the chair, and eighty-two gentlemen were present. As circumstances deprived us of the pleasure of joining that meeting we may be permitted to express in this place our sentiments respecting it.

"To be born to honours is a happy accident; to achieve them is a noble distinction. Mr. Britton's honourable career is all his own; he has gained his station in life by diligent exertion, by the possession of useful and elegant acquirements, by eminence in his own particular line of study, by general intelligence in other branches of science and art, by a love of literature, and by a general and liberal assistance to those employed in pursuits congenial to his own. To his labours the architecture—and particularly the ecclesiastical and domestic architecture—of the country is deeply indebted for the restoration of what was decayed, and the improvement of what was defective; and in his beautiful sketches and masterly engravings, extending through many volumes, he has given us a treasure-house of antiquarian art, and made the pencil and the graver not only preserve and perpetuate much that has long been mouldering into shapeless ruin, but has also supplied many a new model of improved beauty, suggested by his own genius, and carried into execution by his own zeal and perseverance. There are, however, still higher qualities belonging to our nature than those of mere intellectual excellence, and greater endowments than those of scientific acquirement. Mr. Britton is justly endeared to his friends by the virtues of his heart, as well as valued by them for the cultivation of his mind. Whoever is acquainted with him must be pleasingly impressed with the simplicity of his manners, the kindness of his address, and the open, candid, and generous expression of his feelings. The humble writer of these lines has every reason to be proud of the honour conferred by his friendship, as he willingly confesses the advantages he has derived from his knowledge and attainments. Mr. Britton has enjoyed the enviable privilege of friendly and familiar intercourse with some of the most eminent persons of his age; and we can say, that many who, like ourselves, originally came to him for advice and instruction, soon felt anxious to cultivate a more familiar acquaintance, and to make private friendship be the happy result of professional reputation. The names which appear in the List of Subscribers before us afford an ample testimonial of all that we have said. They extend through all classes, from the Prince to the professional artist; and by their extension they stamp a more authentic value on their approbation. Such a band of friends any man may be justly proud of: and we trust that in Mr. Britton's mind and feelings the present public evidence of attachment will shed a bright and genial lustre over the shadows of advancing age, as they are slowly and gently closing on a long, an honourable, and a happy life."

Benhall. J. M.

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